

Toleration

D I S C U S S E D;

IN TWO

D I A L O G U E S;

- I. Betwixt a **Conformist**, and a **Non-Conformist**; Laying open the *Impiety*, and *Danger* of a **General Liberty**.
- II. Betwixt a **Presbyterian**, and an **Independent**; Concluding, upon an *Impartial Examination* of their *Respective Practises*, and *Opinions*, in Favour of the **Independents**.

Væ vobis, Hypocritæ!

By Roger L'Estrange, Esq.

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| | Toleration |

Toleration Discuss'd,

By way of Dialogue betwixt a

CONFORMIST

AND A

NON-CONFORMIST.

Conformist. **L**iberty of Conscience, or, No liberty of Conscience, is the Question. What is Conscience?

Non-Conformist. *Conscience is Judicium Hominis de Semetipso, Amicus de prout subicitur Judicio Dei. The Judgment that a Man makes of Himself and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God. Or otherwise, It is An Ability in the Understanding of Man, by a Reflect Act to Judge of Himself in all he does, as to his Acceptance, or Rejection with God. Rutherford makes it to be A Power of the Practical Understanding, according to which the Man is obliged and directed to give Judgment of Himself; that is, Of His State and Condition, and of all his Actions, Inclinations, Thoughts, and Words.*

Consci.
Indulg. &
Toler. p. 13
Liberty of
Conscience upon
its true
and proper
Grounds,
p. 3.
Fide Dis-
putation,
p. 3.

C: If this be Conscience, Then Liberty of Conscience is A Liberty of a Man's Judgment of Himself, and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God.

N. C. Right: But then he is bound likewise to Practice according to that Judgment, and To Worship God according to the Light and Understanding which he hath, of What is that Worship which is Acceptable with him, in Matter and Manner, and not otherwise.

Indulg. &
Toler.
p. 13.

C. So that your Liberty of Conscience is now come to Liberty of Practice. Indeed I could wish that the Advocates for Liberty would be a little more Candid in this business. They take wonderfull Pains

Toleration Discuss'd.

(many of Them) to prove, that *Conscience cannot be forc'd*; It is out of the Reach of *Humane Power*; God never appointed any Judge of it; Shall any Man pretend to make me believe, That which I cannot believe? (And the like) Pressing the Argument, as if That were the very Pinch of the Case, which is just Nothing at all to the Point in Controversie. It is obvious to *Common Reason*, that This Suggestion cannot but create very dangerous and unquiet Thoughts in the People: For if they be denied *Liberty of Conscience* (in the plain and honest *English* of it) They suffer under the most Barbarous, and Ridiculous Persecution, that ever yet appear'd upon the face of the Earth. But on the other side, If their claim be stretch't to *Liberty of Practice*, It seems not only unreasonable, but utterly Inconsistent, both with *Christianity* it self, and the *Publique Peace*.

SECTION I.

UNIVERSAL TOLERATION too Wide,
and Unlawfull.

Liberty of Conscience (as you have stated it) is *An Universal Toleration* for People to say and do what they please, under the Warrant and Pretext of *Conscience*.

N. C. That is to say, In Matters properly the Subject of Conscience, with Reference to the future Judgment of God.

C. By This Rule, *Pagans* are to be tolerated as well as *Christians*: For They have *Consciences* as well as We: They are convinc'd, that there is a God; and that That God ought to be Worship'd; and may plead for the same Freedome, in the way and manner of their Proceeding.

N. C. But Paganism is not within the Pale of the Question.

C. Why then, no more is *Conscience*. If you say, They are in the Wrong, and so debar them the Exercise of their Opinion, because of the Error of it, your Exception lies to the Error, not to the *Conscience*; and may be turn'd upon your selves: For they say as much of You, and have as much right to condemn You, as You Them: Neither have you any more Right to be Judges in your own Case, then they in theirs.

N.C.

N. C. Well, but we have a Law to Judge our selves by.

C. And so have They too: For They without a Law, do by Nature *Rom. 2. 14* the things contained in the Law, and are a Law unto themselves.

N. C. But how can that Law have any Regard to the future Judgment of God, when they deny the Immortality of the Soul?

C. There is a future Judgment of God in This Life, as well as in the next: And the Conscience that hath no Light at all of another World, is not yet without Apprehensions of Divine Vengeance in This. *Raro Antecedentem Scelerum deseruit peca pama clauda.* You'll be as much to seek now, if you restrain your Argument to Christianity; for you must either prove That there are no *Erroneous Consciences* among Christians; or That Error of Conscience is no Sin; or else, That Sin may be Tolerated.

N. C. There is no doubt but there are Erroneous Consciences; and it is as clear that Sin is not to be Tolerated: But I do not take every Error of Conscience to be a Sin (understand me of Consciences labouring under an Invincible Ignorance.)

C. It is very true, That as to the Formality of Sin, which is the Obliquity of the Will, An Error of Conscience under an Invincible Ignorance is no Sin: But Sin *Materially* considered is the Transgression of the Divine Law; and Conscience it self becomes Sinfull, when it dictates against That Law.

N. C. Can there be any Sin without Assent; or any Assent without Knowledge; or any Knowledge in a Case of Invincible Ignorance? The Transgression of the Law implies the Knowledge of it; or at least the Possibility of Knowing it; without which, it has not the Nature of a Law, as to me. [The Conditions requisite in a Rule are These: *Laus 2. gainst Fi- Jer. p. 97.* It must be Certain; and it must be Known. If it be not Certain, it is no Rule; If it be not Known, it is no Rule to us.] I had not known Sin but by the Law (says the Text) *Rom. 7. 7.* and in another Place; Where *Rom. 4. 15* there is no Law, there is no Transgression. From whence the Conclusion is clear, That Sin is not barely the Transgression of a Law, but the Transgression of a known Law; the Inconformity of the Will to the Understanding.

Toleration Discuss'd.

C. The Perverseness of the Will being a Sin, does not hinder the Enormity of the Judgment to be so too. [*Until the Law, Sin was in the World; but Sin is not imputed, when there is no Law.*] In few words, The Word of God is the Rule of Truth; and all Disproportion to that Rule is Error. God's Revealed Will is the Measure of Righteousness; and all Disproportion to that Measure is Sin. Now the Question is not, Whether imputed, or no; but, Whether a Sin or No. And you cannot make Error of Conscience to be No Sin, without making the Word of God to be no Rule.

N. C. I do not deny, but it is a Sin as to the Law; but it is none as to the Person; It is none Constructively, with him that accepts the Will for the Deed.

C. Can you imagine that any Condition in the Delinquent can operate upon the Force and Equity of the Law? Because God spares the Offender, shall Man therefore tolerate the Offence? David was pronounced a Man after God's own Heart; shall Authority therefore grant a License to Murder and Adultery?

N. C. What is David's Case to ours? You instance in Sins of Presumption, and the Question is touching Sins of Ignorance.

1 Tim. i.
23.

C. I was a Blasphemer, a Persecutor, and Injurious (says St. Paul) but I obtain'd Mercy (he does not say APPROBATION) because I did it in Ignorance and Unbelief. Again, The Magistrate has a Conscience, as well as the Subject. It may be Ignorance in him that Commits the Sin, and yet Presumption in him that Suffers it. Briefly, in pleading for All Opinions, you plead for all Heresies, and for the Establishment of Wickedness by a Law. What Swarms of Anabaptists, Brownists, Familists, Antinomians, Anti-Scripturists, Anti-Trinitarians, Enthusiasts (and what Not ?) have started up even in our days, under the Protection of Liberty of Conscience? What Blasphemous and Desperate Opinions, to the Subversion both of Faith and Government! Where's the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Reverence of Religion, when every Man shall make a Bible of his Conscience, divide the Holy Ghost against it self, and dash one Text upon another? He that has a mind to rake further in this Puddle, let him read Edwards's *Gangrena*, Bayly's *Diffusio*, Page's *Heresiography*, &c.

To pass now from Opinions, to Practices. The Liberty you challenge

lence, open a door to all ſorts of Villany and Outrage imaginable; to Rapine, Murder, Rebellion, King-killing.

N. C. As if any Man that has a Conſcience of his own, or knows what Conſcience is, could give Entertainment to ſo fond an Imagination, as to ſuppoſe, that God at the laſt day will approve of Murthers, Seditions, and the like Evils; Since what is Evil in it ſelf, and againſt the Light of Nature, there is no direction unto it, no approbation of it from Conſcience in the leaſt.

Indulg. &
Toler. p.
13, 14.

C. But what will this amount to? when, firſt, Every Man's Word ſhall be taken for his own Conſcience: And ſecondly, That Conſcience pleaded in defence of his Actions. That which you ſtile *Murther*, and *Sedition*, He'll tell you is only a *Gospel-Reformation*, *The Deſtroying of the Hittites and the Amorites, &c.* So that you are never the better for tying a Man up to the Light of Nature in his Actions, if you leave him at Liberty in his Creed: For there is not that Impiety in the World, but he'll give you a Text for it. The Adverſaries of God, that reſuſe to enter into a holy Covenant with the Lord, and ſubmit themſelves to Chriſt's Scepter, may be Sequeſtered and Plundered, without the Imputation of Rapine; for it is written, *The Meek ſhall inherit the Earth*: And it is no more then God's People the *Iſraelytes* did to the *Egyptians*. Nay, if they be *Refractory*, they may be put to Death too, without Murder. [*Thoſe mine Enemies, which would not that I ſhould Reign over them, bring them, and ſlay them before me.*] If any man has a ſpight at the Church, it is but calling it *Antichriſtian*, and Mr. Caſe ſhall give him a Com- miſſion to take this Agag, and Hew it in Pieces before the Lord. Ta- king up Arms againſt the Government, is helping the Lord againſt the *Mighty*. And Kingkilling it ſelf, is juſtified by the Example of *Ehud* to *Eglon*.

Mat 5, 5.

Lukd 19.

27.

In his
Book of
the Cova-
nant.

N. C. But do you believe any Man ſo mad, as to take theſe Extrava- gances for Impulſes of Conſcience?

C. Or rather, Is not he madder that doubts it? Conſidering the Evidences we have both from Story and Experience, and the very Authority of Scripture it ſelf, in favour of believing it. Does not our Saviour foretell us of *False Chriſts*, and *False Prophets*, that ſhall ariſe and deceive many; yea, *if it were poſſible, the very Elect*? Parties are engag'd in all ſorts of Abomination, under the Maſque of Conſcience.

Mar. 2, 4.

Moderation Discus'd.

Conscience. Those of the *League in Flanders*, 1503. under *Maximilian* bound themselves by Oath, to cast off the Yoke of Government, and to kill and slay all Opposers; but with such regard to Religion (I warrant ye) that every Member of that Confederacy was to say five Ave Maryes and *Pater Nosters* daily, for a blessing upon the Undertaking. The *Holy League* at *Peronne*, under *Henry the Third* of France, was for the Glory of God too, and the Preservation of the King: What Horrible Effects it produced, I need not tell you. *Sleydan* reckons upon Fifty Thousand slain in one Summer, in the Bores Rebellion in Germany, 1525. And charges the Tumult upon *Seditious Preachers*, whereof *Muncer* was chief. I shall not need to mind you of the Damned Villanies that were acted by *Muncer*, *Phifer*, (Bebold, or) *John of Leyden*, *Rottman*, *Knipperdolling*, *Knippenbroke*, *John Matthias*, and the rest of that Gang, under the Imposture of Inspiration, and Conscience: There Sacking and Burning of Towns, Rapes, and Massacres: And all this under the pretense of God's Command, and the Direction of his Holy Spirit. Nay, so strongly was the deluded Multitude possess'd with the Doctrine and Ways of their False Prophets, that the *Muncerians*, upon the Charge of the *Landgrave of Hesse*, stood stone still, without striking a Blow; calling upon the Holy Ghost to their Succour (as *Muncer* had promised them) till they were all Routed and Cut off.

Sleydans
Comment
14.

Was it not a *Holy Father*, and the Prior of the Convent (one of the Heads of the *League*) that confirm'd *Clement* in his purpose of Murthering *Harry the Third* of France? For his Encouragement, they assur'd him, That if he outliv'd the Fact, he should be a Cardinal; If he dy'd a Saint. What was it again that originally dispos'd this Monster to that cursed Act? *Stimolato dalle Predicationi, che giornualmente sentiva fare contra Henricode Valois, nominato il persecutore della Fede, & il Tyranno.* Seditious Sermons against the King, as a Persecutor of the Faith, and a Tyrant. See in the same Author, the Confession of *John Castle*, concerning his Attempt upon *Harry the Great*. He had been brought up in the Jesuites School, and Instructed, That it was not only Lawfull, but Meritorious to destroy *Harry of Bourbon*; That Revolted Heretick, and Persecutor of the Holy Church. [Esaminato con le solite Forme, confessò liberamente, &c.] What was it that Animated *Ravillac* to his Hellish Practise upon that Brave Prince? but (by his own Confession) A Discourse of *Mariana's*, *De Rege, & Regis Institutione*. It was a Divine Instinct too,

Davila
delle Guer.
Civ. di
Fran. l. 10.

Ibid.

Lib. 14.

Toleration Discuss'd.

7

too, that mov'd *Balthazar Gerard* to Murder the Prince of *Orange*. *Swalade*
Bello Belgico. l. 5.
[*Divino tantum Instinctu, id a se patratur constanter affirmabat diu Torrens.*] To conclude now with That fresh and execrable Instance here at Home, upon the Person of the *Law King*: It was the *Pulpit* that started the Quarrel; The *Pulpit* that Enflamed it; The *Pulpit* that Christian'd it *God's Cause*; The *Pulpit* that conjoin'd the People into a *Cowdrie* to defend it; The *Pulpit* that blasted the King, that persud'd him, that prest the putting of Him to Death; and the *Pulpit* that applauded it when it was done. And how was all this effected? (I beseech ye) but by Imposing upon the weak and inconsiderate Multitude, *Errors for Truths*; by perverting *Scriptures*; and by these Atts, moulding the *Passions* and the *Consciences* of the People to the Interest of a Tumultuary Design. These are the Fruits of the *Toleration* you demand. Reflect soberly upon what has been said; and Tell me, Do you think such a *Toleration* either fit for You to *Ask*, or for *Authority* to *Grant*.

N.C. *The Truth is, In this Latitude there may be great Inconveniences: And yet methinks, 'tis Pity (in Cases of some Honest Mistakes) that a Good Man should be punished for not being a Wise Man.*

C. And were it not a greater Pity, do ye think, for a State to keep no Check upon *Crafty Knaves*, for fear of disobliging some *Well-meaning Fools*? As to the Sparing of the *Man*, I wish it cou'd be done, even where it were Impious to give Quarter to the *Opinion*: But how shall we separate the *Error* from the *Person*, so as to make a *General Law* take notice of it? It were *Irreligious* to Tolerate Both, and it seems to me *Impossible* to sever them. If you your self now can either prove the former to be *Lawful* (that is, *no do Evil, that Good may come of it*) or the latter to be *Practicable*, I'll agree with you for a *General Toleration*: If not, I hope you'll joyn with me against it.

N.C. *I am not for a Toleration (as I told you) against the Light of Nature; nor would I have any Pretence of Conscience admitted, that leads to the Destruction of the Magistrate, and the Disturbance of the Government.*

Liberty of
Conscience
on its true
and proper
Grounds.
p. 12.

C. That is to say, You will content Yourself with a *Limited Toleration*; which, I fear, upon the Debate, will prove as much too narrow for you, as the Other was too wide.

S E C T.

SECT. II.

*LIMITED TOLERATION too Narrow, and
Disobliging to the Excluded Party.*

BY a Limited Toleration we may understand *A Legal Grant of Freedom and Immunity, in Matters of Religion, to Persons of such and such Perswasions, and to no Others.*

N. C. *Or if you please, An Exemption from the Lash of the Act of Uniformity.*

C. You say something, if This would do the Work. But to dissolve a Solemn Law, for the Satisfaction of some Particulars, and at last leave the People worse then we found them, were certainly a gross Overfight. However, what's your Quarrel to it?

N. C. *I think it a great Cruelty to confine a multitude of differing Judgments to the same Rule, and to punish a Conscientious People for these Disagreements, which they can neither avoid, nor relinquish.*

C. Why will you Practise that Cruelty your selves then, which you condemn in others? For *Limited Toleration*, is an Act of *Uniformity* to those that are excluded. They that are within the Comprehension, will be well enough: But what will become of them that are left out? who have *Conscience*s as well as their Fellows, and as good a Title to an Indulgence, as those that are taken in. Upon a fair View of the Matter, you can neither admit *All*, without Offence to your *Conscience*; nor leave out *Any*, without a *Cheque* to your *Argument*.

N. C. *And yet I am perswaded a Limited Toleration would give Abundant Satisfaction.*

C. Suppose you had it, and your self One of the *Rejected Party*: Are not you as well now, without any *Toleration* at all, as you be then, without receiving any *Benefit* by it?

N. C. *To deal fairly, I would not willingly be excluded.*

C. And

C. Altho' but That every Man's Cause, as well as yours? A Limited Toleration might include Some, and why not You, as well as Another? Or indeed, Every Christian. All be Tol'rated, as well as Any? They can be no more than their Opinions, then you Yours: And Your Way can put the same Calumnies to Them, which (if You may be credited) Ours are to You. So that most undeniably, the Plea of the Tolerationists upon the Point of Consistency, is all alike: And yet None of them have more Right to an Indulgence, One than Another. Why should any Party of them expect more Favour; to the Exclusion and Disobligation of the Rest?

N. C. But are not Some Opinions more tolerable than Others? Do you put no Difference betwixt Truth and Error? Betwixt Points Fundamental and Non-Fundamental? Betwixt the very Basis of Christianity, and the Superstructure? In fine, Betwixt such Principles as affect Order and Publick Agreement, and others that flow Naturally into Loosefels and Confusion?

C. Without Dispute, Some Opinions and Principles are more allowable than Others: But where lieth the Right of allowing, or Rejection? Let This be first examined, and then we'll advise upon the Opinions, and Principles themselves, what may be allow'd, and what Not.

SECT. III.

No Toleration to be admitted but with the Allowance of the Chief Magistrate.

WE are agreed, first, That an Universal Toleration (implying a License to all sorts of Wickedness) is not upon any terms to be admitted. Secondly, That a Limited Toleration (being a Grant of Favour to Some, and Exclusive of Others) must needs lay a Disobligation upon the Exclusive Party. The next Point will be, Where to place the Power of Permitting, or Refusing; and from thence we shall pass to an Inquiry into the Bounds and Limits of such a Toleration as may be warrantable: Which being once settled, we are to see how far the Pretences and Qualifications of the Parties concern'd will suit with those Measures.

N. C. *There is no such thing as a perfect Faith, and Obedient Life; We have some, who are not perfect in their Faith, and Obedience, and yet are not to be excluded from the Church, and the Sacraments, and the Communion of the Saints, and the Kingdom of God. We have some, who are not perfect in their Faith, and Obedience, and yet are not to be excluded from the Church, and the Sacraments, and the Communion of the Saints, and the Kingdom of God. We have some, who are not perfect in their Faith, and Obedience, and yet are not to be excluded from the Church, and the Sacraments, and the Communion of the Saints, and the Kingdom of God.*

N. C. *The World, you know, is as much divided about the Power of the Civil Magistrate, in matters of Religion, as about any other point (perhaps) of our Debate.*

C. *We shall discourse That more at large elsewhere. But now, ever, as to this Particular, let us come to a present Settlement, that we may clear our way as we go. If you make the People Judges of what is fit to be Tolerated, First, (as I said before) You are upon the Old Rock of Universal Toleration? for (right or wrong) every Man will stick to the freedom of his own way. Secondly, You lay the Foundation of a Quarrel never to be reconciled. You shall have as many Factions, as Men; As many Religions, as Fancies; and every Dissenter shall be both a Party, and a Judge. To imagine an Agreement betwixt the Magistrate and the Multitude, by the Common Consent of Both; were to suppose an Accommodation betwixt Heaven and Hell, betwixt Light and Darkness; which are every way as Capable of it, as several of the Differences now before us. And for as an Umpire in the Case, you can pretend to None.*

N. C. *Pardon me: We have the Word of God to repair to, in what we have found Faith; and the Light of Nature for our Guide, in the Paths of Goodness.*

found in a Parley, and so on in a Single Inst. Finally, What have they today for all This? But that This is Our Sense Judgment, That Another's? Take on. This may be sufficient to you, but not to me. To conclude, What One Man Urges, all may, and in All Cases, as Well as in Any: Which has brought us once again to an *indeterminable Liberty*. The last Resort of all the Champions of your Cause, if they be followed home. Now if you can assign any other Arbitrator of this Matter then the Civil Power, do it: if you cannot, let us proceed.

N.C. Go forward then.

SECT. IV.

The BOUNDS of Toleration. And the Error of making Fundamentals and Non-Fundamentals to be the Measure of it.

C. **I**N the Question of Toleration (says a Learned Prelate) the Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be secured: Wherein is comprised a Provision and Care, that we may live as *Christians* toward God, as *Members of a Community* toward one another, and as *Loyall Subjects* toward our Sovereign. If you'll take This for the Standard of your Toleration, we have no more to do, but to apply Matters in Controversie to the Rules of *Christianity*, *Good Manners*, and *Government*; and to entertain or reject all Pretensions, thereafter as we finde them Agreeable, or Repugnant, to *Religion*, *Morality*, and *Society*.

N.C. Very well stated truly, I think.

C. All the Danger is, the falling to pieces again, when we come to bring This and That to the Test. For if we differ at last upon the Application of Particular Points, and Actions, to the General Heads of *Faith*, and *Government* already laid down and agreed upon, We shall yet lose our selves in Uncertainty, and Confusion.

N.C. There will be no fear of That, if we tie up our selves to Fundamentals.

C. What do you mean by fundamentals?

N.C.

N.C. These are Fundamentals of Faith, that bind Us as we are Christian; and these are Fundamentals of Practice, that oblige us as we are Members of a Church. Now, if the Fundamentals there lies no Apparent Contradiction, in other Matters (which we look upon as Non-Fundamental) we think it reasonable to Desire a Toleration.

C. This Distinction has a fair Appearance; but there is no trusting to it: First it proposes a thing neither *Practical*, nor *Reasonable*; which is, The Uniting of all People under one Common Bond of Fundamentals. What possibility is there of attaining such an Agreement, among so many Insuperable Diversities of Judgment, as reign in Mankind? Inasmuch, that what is a *Fundamental Truth* to One, is a *Fundamental Error* to Another; and Every Man is ready to abide the Faggot for his own Opinion. It is also very unreasonable to exact it. God Almighty does not require the same Fundamentals from all Men alike; But *Much from Him to whom a Much is given, and Little from Him, to whom Little*: And from All, according to their differing Degrees, and Measures, of Grace, and Knowledge. You will likewise find your self under great Uncertainty about the stating of your Fundamentals: For divers Circumstances, of Little, or No value in Themselves, become *Fundamental* in respect of their Consequences. As for Instance; That *Christ died for Sinners*, I presume shall be one Article of your Faith: But whether upon *Monsieur Calvary*, or some other part of the Neighbourhood, seems of no great Moment, as to the Main of Our Salvation: And yet he that denies that Our Saviour suffer'd upon *Adam Calvary*, puts as great an Affront upon the Veracity of the Holy Ghost in the Gospel, as He which denies that he suffer'd upon the *Cross*.

N.C. I give it for Granted, that from some, more is required; from others, less: In proportion to their Differing Gifts and Graces. But then there are some Principles, so Essential to Christianity, and so clear in Themselves, as to admit of no Dispute.

C. Saving That Grand Foundation of Our Faith, that *Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh*; and that *Whoever confesses, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, God dwelleth in Him, and He in God.* (Saving I say) That Radical Principle, which if we disbelieve, we are no longer Christians. There is scarce One Point that has not been subjected to a Controversie. If you reduce your Fundamentals to This Scantling, Your Creed will lie in a very Narrow Compass: But your Toleration will

will be Large Enough, if you are at Liberty for the rest. Touching the *Clearness* of them, I can not comprehend it: For *Supernatural Truths* holds no Proportion at all with the *Ordinary Motions of Human Reason*. They are so clear, and so: What they are; where we shall look for them; and How we shall know them when we have found them.

N.C. Where should we look for the Foundation of our Faith, but in the New-Testament of Jesus Christ?

C. But still we do not all read the Bible with the same Spectacles. To draw to an Issue; *Generals* conclude nothing, so long as we are left at Freedom to wrangle about *Particulars*; and you will find much surer footing upon the *Foundations of Established Law*, then upon the *Whimseys of Popular Speculation*. To my thinking, the *Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England*, as it is settled by *Acts of Parliament*, with other *Legal Constitutions*, for the Peace, and Order of the Government, are every *Whit* as competent a Provision for the Good of the Publicque, as your new *Fundamentals*.

N.C. The Point is not (as you seem to understand it) A Competition between Our *Fundamentals of Notion*, and *Tours of Law*: But an Inquiry concerning the Limits of a Justifiable Toleration.

C. Very Good: And you refer us to your Distinction of *Fundamentals* and *Non-Fundamentals*, as to a Rule, how far we are at Liberty, and wherein we are Bounded. But This will not do the work; and I have spent the more words about it, because I find This Distinction the Ordinary Retreat of Your Party. The Truth of it is, there's not One of a Hundred of you, but takes This Question by the wrong Handle. You make it a Question of *Conscience*, and *Religion*, What may be Tolerated, and what not: Whereas the thing falls properly under a Consideration of *State*. In Matters not to be Tolerated (as in *Articles of Religion*) The *Magistrate* is positively bound up; In other Cases, He may chuse, whether he will *Tolerate*, or *Restrain*; That is to say, with a perpetual Regard to the Quiet, and Security of the Publicque. Where *Particulars* may be relieved, without Inconvenience to *Communities*, it is well: But otherwise, *Private Conscience* weigh little in the Scale against *Political Societies*: And *Toleration* is only so far allowable, as it complies with the Necessity, and Ends of *Government*.

Foundation of Faith, Good will, and Government is to be secured: *Wherein I am content to differ from you: though there are some, that believe the Right of Government may be settled without any Religious*

C. For Discourse sake, pray try, what you can make out, either with, or without.

SECT. V.

The Common Argument for TOLERATION, Examined.

N. C. **N**O Man under the Gospel ought to be compell'd to believe any thing; and if not to believe, then not to practise. Lib. of
Conf.
P. 37

C. Rutherford lays well to this Point: That the Magistrate is not to force Men Positively to External Worship; but Negatively, to punish Acts of False Worship, and Omissions of External Performances of Worship, as of ill Example to Others: Not Commanding Outward Performances, as Service to God; but forbidding Omissions of them as Destructive to Man.

N. C. It is a strange Absurdity to force Men, against their own Light to be guided by Others, unless we are sure, we cannot mistake. Lib. of
Dnsc.
P. 38.

C. But were it not a stranger Absurdity, to leave every Man at Liberty to set up a new Light of his own; and then to subject the United Light of the Nation (which is the Law) to the Scattered Lights of Private Persons?

N. C. But does not One Man see that sometimes, which a Thousand may miss?

C. And because This is possible, is the Odds therefore upon One against a Thousand? Or if so, Why may not the Church be in the Right against the People, as well as any Particular of the People, against the Church, and the Rest? This is most Certain, that of a Thousand Differing Opinions, there can be but One Right: And a Toleration upon your supposal, is sure to set up Nine hundred ninety nine Errors: which is the ready way to bring People to cutting of Throats for Opinions.

N. C.

N. C. If a Magistrate may punish when his Conscience tells him he is in the wrong, then all Persecutors are in the right.

C. Men are not punished for their Conscience, but for their Actions. And if a Magistrate may not restrain Liberty of Action, then all Rebels are in the Right.

Lib. of
Consc.
p. 24.

N. C. The Magistrate is appointed to see That Executed which Christ hath appointed in Religion; and Punctually ty'd up neither to Add, nor to Diminish either in the Matter, or in the Manner. The Manner Christ hath appointed; being as positively obliging as the Matter.

C. If it be the Magistrates Duty to see Christ's Appointments in Religion Executed, in Matter, and Manner, without Adding, or Diminishing: First, You must allow him to be a Competent Judge of what Christ hath appointed; (for otherwise his Commission directs him to do He knows not what.) Secondly, According to your Argument, there is but One Way of Worship, warrantable; which puts a Bar unto any sort of Toleration whatsoever.

Lib. of
Consc.
p. 24.

N. C. If the Magistrate has any Power over the Conscience of his People, How came he by it? For he that hath no other, then the Light of Nature, hath as much Power, as if he were Christian; and by becoming Christian hath no Addition of Power to what he had before.

C. It is true, that Christianity (as you put the Case) does not confer upon the Magistrate any New Power; but it lays upon him an Additional Obligation of Duty. While his Conscience was Pagan, He took his Measures only from Humane Prudence, and the Light of Nature. But upon his Conversion, He falls under the Dictate of a Conscience that is Farther, and Otherwise Enlighten'd: And becomes Answerable, as well for the Establishing, Securing, and Promoting of Christianity, as for the Political Conservation of his People, and Government.

N. C. Persecution may make Hypocrites, but not Converts.

C. You may say the same thing of the Law, In other Cases. That makes many Men Honest in appearance, for fear of Punishment; that are yet rotten at Heart. Nay, I am further perswaded, that where Severity makes one Hypocrite, it cures a hundred. For so long as there

Toleration Discuss'd.

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there is either *Prose*, or *Credite* to be got, by the *Disgrace* of Religion, All men of *Corrupt Principles*, and *Designs* will flow into the Party. But when That *Temptation* to *Hypocrisy* shall be removed; and that they find nothing to be gotten by the *Imposture*, but *Punishment* and *Disgrace*, They will soon betake themselves to a more regular Station in the Government. *Mally a Counterfeit Cripple has been cured with a Dog-whip.*

N. C. *Are Heresies to be Extirpated, and Truth to be Propagated by the Sword, or by the Word?*

C. If it be the *Penalty* you oppose; Where the *Word* will not do, You your selves fly to *Censures*, and *Excommunications*, which are *Punishments*, as well as *Corporal*, and *Pecuniary Inflictions*; and as little *Instructive*. But you are upon a *Mistake*: The *Civil Power* does not so much Pretend to the *Recovery* of those that are out of the Way, as to the *Saving* of the Rest: Not does it properly Punish any Man, as an *Heretic*, but as a *Seducer*: Do you but let the King's Subjects alone, and He'll never trouble Himself to Impose upon your Consciences. If it reaches not *Wickedness* in the Heart, It provides yet against the *Infection* of it, and the *Scandal*; by keeping the Hands, and Tongues of Licentious People in Order.

N. C. *I do not deny, but that a Rigorous Law may have some Profitable Influence upon the Looser Sort: Yet still it falls heavy upon the Innocent, as well as upon the Guilty. To Know, Believe, or Profess are not in our Power: And shall a Man be punish'd for want of Grace, or Understanding?*

C. Though it is not in our Power to *Know*, and *Believe*, as we please; yet to forbear *publishing* of our Thoughts, and *Acting* in Relation to Them, is unquestionably in our Power. Neither is any Man to be punish'd for want of *Grace*, or *Understanding*: But yet it will be ill, if those Defects may pass for an *Excuse*. All manner of *Impiety* should then go *Scot-free*: for without Doubt, *Let Fools be Priviledged, and all Knaves shall pretend Ignorance.*

N. C. No Man can call *Jesus* the *Christ*, but by the *Holy Ghost*: Will you punish any Man for not having the *Holy Ghost*?

Lib. of
Consc.
P. 27.

D

N. C.

C. No Man that hath the *Holy Ghost* will deny *Jesus* to be the *Christ*: Will you punish any Man for denying *Jesus* to be *Christ*; that is to say, for not having the *Holy Ghost*?

N. C. *He that acts against his Conscience, Sins* will I

C. And so does he that Acts by it, If in Error.

Lib. of
Consc.
p. 56.

N. C. Every Man is true to God, that is true to his Conscience, though it be *Erroneous*.

C. Will it not then follow, that a Man may worship the *Sun*, or the *Moon*, and yet be true to God, if That Worship be according to his Conscience? To clear This Point; Some Consciences are *Erroneous* upon the score of *Invincible Ignorance*; and That *Insuperable Frailty* is a fair Excuse: But Some Consciences again are *Erroneous* for want of due *Care*, *Search*, and *Enquiry*; Others, out of *Pertinacy*: And there is no *Plea* to be admitted for These Consciences.

N. C. How do you know, but you may persecute God, in the Conscience of a True Believer, as St. Paul did, before his Conversion?

C. If I may turn your own Reason against your self, I may do it, and yet be true to God; if in so doing, I am true to my Conscience. But still you confound Conscience, and *Prudence*; whereas the Civil Magistrate pretends to no sort of *Aubority*, or *Dominion* over the Conscience. And your Objections are of as little force any other way: For the Magistrate is no more *Infallible* in One Case, then in Another; and may as well Bread the Persecuting of God, in the Conscience of a *Murderer*, or any other *Criminal*, as in that of an *Heretick*.

N. C. I think we have enough: But it may be, This Toleration will please us better in the Exercise, then it does in the Speculation.

C. What Hinders then, but we may try it that way too?

SECT. VI.

TOLERATION undermines the Law, and causes Confusion both in Church and State.

N. C. **W**hy may not a Toleration do as well here, as in France?

C. How do you mean? Would you have his Majesty of Great-Britain, Tolerate Roman-Catholicks here, as his Most Christian Majesty does Protestants in France?

N. C. You speak as if None were to be Tolerated but Papists.

C. Not I truly: But so it must be, if you'll have your Toleration after the French Fashion. Can you shew me that any Non-Conforming Roman Catholicks are Tolerated There? Nay; Or that those of the Religion do subdivide, or break Communion among Themselves? Such an Instance might stand you in some stead.

N. C. But is it not More, To Tolerate a Foreign Religion; then to Indulge your own? To permit Freedom of Worship to those you repute Hereticks, then to Relaxe a little towards your Orthodox Friends?

C. The Question is not, in Matter of Religion, whether to Favour Sound Faith, or Heresie; but in Reason of State, whether is more Advisable, to Tolerate the Exercise of quite a Different Religion; Or a Separation from the Church-Order Establish'd. Alas! In several Religions (and especially where the Professions are divided by mutual Prejudice, and Principles of strong Opposition, (as in this Case too much they are) There's no great fear of gathering, and engaging Parties, to the Disturbance of the Publick Peace. There is a great Gulf (as he says) betwixt them. And Men do not usually start from one Extreme to another, at a Leap; But to Tolerate One Church within Another, is to Authorize a Dissolution of the Government both Ecclesiastical, and Civil. And the Defection is the more Dangerous, because it is almost Insensible. As many as will leave you may; and every Dissenter is double: One lost, to the Government; Another gain'd, to the Schism: Which will quickly bring down Authority to the Mercy of the People. In fine, By Toleration, a Kingdom is divided against it self, and cannot stand.

N.C. *When you have taken Breath, Do me the Favour to make out what you say.*

C. *The Demand of a Toleration, is in it self, the Condemnation of an Establish'd Law; and not without hard Reflections neither, both upon the Equity, and Prudence of the Law-makers. So that at first Dash, here is the Law unbinding'd: For If any One Law may be question'd by the Multitude, The Consequence reaches to All the Rest.*

N.C. *We do not question, either the Prudence of the Law-Makers; Or the General Equity of the Constitution. Only where God hath not given Us Consciences suitable to the Rule, as may Comply with Our Consciences.*

C. *Would you have a Law that shall Comply with all Consciences? God Almighty Himself never made a Law that pleas'd all People.*

N.C. *It would be well then, that you should bring all Men to the same Mind, before you force them to the same Rule.*

C. *But it would be ill, if there should be no Rule at all, till we had found out One that all People should say Amen to.*

N.C. *We do not ask the Vacating of a Law, but the Widening of it.*

C. *Why then you ask a worse thing; for it were much better for the Publick, totally to Revoke a Good Law, then to suffer a Contempt, even upon a Bad One. If the Reason of such a Law be gone, Repeal the Law. But to let the Obligation fall, and the Law stand, seems to be a Solacism in Government. You should consider, that Laws are not made for Particulars; but framed with a Regard to the Community: And they ought to stand Firm, and Inexorable. If once they come to Harken to Popular Expostulations, and to side with By-Interests, the Reverence of Government is shaken.*

N.C. *But where's the Danger of Receding from that Inexorable Strictness.*

C. *Here it lies. It implies an Assent, both to the Equity of the Complaint, and to the Reason of the Opinion in Question: (If not also a Submission to Importunity, and Clamor.) And among many ill Consequences*

Consequences, It draws This after It, for One. Many One sort of People may be allow'd to challenge any *One Law*; All other Sorts have an Equal Right of Complaining against *All*, or any of the Rest. So that a Toleration, thus Extorted, does not only unsettle the Law; but ministers Argument to the Pretence of Popular Reformation. To say Nothing of the Credit it gives to the Disobedient, and Discouragement to those that keep their Stations: Beside what may be reflected upon the Magistrate, for Instability of Counsels.

Another Exception may be This: How shall we distinguish betwixt *Faction*, and *Conscience*? If it prove to be the former, A Toleration does the Business to their Hand. Nay, Suppose it the latter; and that, hitherto, there is Nothing but pure *Conscience* in the Case; What Security have We, that it shall not yet embroil us in *Mutiny*, and *Sedition*? Will not the *Tolerated Party* become a Sanctuary for all the *Turbulent Spirits* in the Nation? Shall they not have their *Meetings*, and *Consultations*, without Controul? And when they shall see the *Law* prostituted to the Lusts of the Multitude; The *Order* of the Government dissolved; and the *Government* it self left naked, and supportless; What can We Expect shall be the End of these things, but *Misery*, and *Confusion*?

Nor is it all, that a Toleration is of manifest Hazard to us: But it is That too, without any sort of Benefit in Return. Shall we be the Quieter for it? No. One Grant shall become a *President* for Another; and so shall One *Importunity* for Another, Till we are brought in the End; either to a *General License*; Or to a *General Tumult*. (No matter Which) The *Rejected Party* will be sure to mind you, that They are as good *Subjects*, and have as good *Claims* as Others, that are *Tolerated*; upon which disobliging score, there falls an *Oidium*, and *Envy* upon the Government.

I think a Man shall not need the Spirit of *Prophecy*, to foretel these Events. For a Toleration does naturally *Evertuate* the Law, and lead to a *Total Dissolution* of Ecclesiastical Order; and Consequently, to a *Confusion*, both in Church, and State.

N. C. I do not find myself much press'd by any thing now offer'd: If a Toleration unhinges the Law, 'Tis but making the Law a little Wider, and then that Block is removed. And so is the Fear likewise of bringing present Importunities into President: For All Tolerable Liberties may be comprehended within that Latitude. And as to the matter of Im-

posing

posing Faction for Conscience, such a Provision secures You, as well, as the Act for Uniformity.

C. I have spoken as much as Needs to this Point: If you think you have any Right to a Toleration, make it out; and Approve your selves for a Generation of People, to Whom, the King may with Honour, and Safety, Extend a Bounty.

SECT. VII.

The Non-Conformists Plea for Toleration, upon REASONS
of STATE.

C. THE Ordinary Motives to Indulgence, are these three. 1. Reason of State. 2. The Merits of the Party. 3. The Innocence, and Modesty of their Practices, and Opinions. What have you to say now for a Toleration upon Reason of State?

N. C. The Non-Conformists are the King's Subjects; and What's a King without his People?

C. By Birth, and Obligation, they are the King's Subjects; but if they be not so in Practice, and Obedience, They have no longer any Title to the Benefit of his Protection, and such Subjects are the worst of Enemies.

N. C. You will not deny them now ever to be a Numerous Party: And a People of Conduct, and Unity: Which puts the Government under some kind of Prædential Necessity, to oblige so Considerable an Interest.

C. If they be consequently Dangerous, because they are Numerous; The Greater the Number is, the greater is the Hazard: And therefore because they are many already, and will encrease if they be suffer'd, They are not to be Tolerated.

N. C. But Men will be much more Peaceable when they are Indulged, than when they are Persecuted.

C. Now I am perswaded, that the Multitude will be much quieter without a Power to do Mischief, than with it. But what is your Opinion of the Honesty of the Party?

N. C.

N. C. I do seriously believe the Nonconformists to be an Honest, Conscientious sort of People.

C. But they must be *Knaves*, to make Good Your Argument: for if they be *Honest*, They'l be quiet without a Toleration: If they be *Dishonest*, They'l be *Dangerous* with it. Consider again: If there be any *Hazard*, it lies not in the *Number*, but in the *Confidacy*. A *Million* of Men without *Agreement*, are but as *One Single Person*. Now They must *Consult*, before they can *Agree*; and They must *Meet*, before they can *Consult*. So that barely to hinder the *Assembling* of these Multitudes, frustrates the *Danger* of Them. Whereas on the other side, To *Tolerate* *Seperate Meetings*, is to *Countenance* a *Combination*.

N. C. Mistake me not; I do not say, 'tis likely they will be troublesome, in Respect of their Temper, and Judgments; but that they are Considerable enough to be so, in Regard of their Quallity and Number.

C. Whether do you take to be the *Greater Number*; Those that singly wish to be discharg'd from the *Act of Unifrmity*; Or Those that would have *no Law at all*? Those that are troubled because they may not *Worship* according to their *Fancy*; Or Those that are displeased because they cannot *Live*, and *Rule* according to their *Appetite*? The *Traitor* would have *One Law* discharg'd: The *Schismatick*, *Another*: The *Idolater*, a *Third*: The *Sacrilegious Person*, a *Fourth*: The *Prophane Swearer*, a *Fifth*: The *False Swearer*, a *Sixth*: The *Murdrer*, a *Seventh*: The *Seducer*, an *Eighth*: And in fine: Not *One* of a *Thousand*, but had rather *Command*, then *Obey*. Shall the King therefore dissolve the *Law*, because there are so many *Criminals*? That were to raise an Argument against *Authority*, from the very *Reason* of its *Constitution*. Shall the People be left to do what they list; because a *World* of them have a *Mind* to do what they should not? Shall his Majesty give up his *Government*, for fear of some *Millions* (perchance) in his *Dominions*, that had rather be *Kings*, then *Subjects*? Less forceable, beyond Question, is the Necessity of the King's *Granting a Toleration*, (if you reckon upon *Numbers*) then That of *Renouncing his Sovereignty*. For doubtless, where there is *One Man* that is truly *Scrupulous*, there are *hundreds* of *Avaricious*, *Ambitious*, and otherwise *Irreligious Persons*.

N. C.

N. C. Tell me, I beseech you; Do not you believe that there are more Non-Conformists now, than there were at the beginning of the Late War.

C. Yes, I do verily believe, Three to One.

N. C. Why then 'tis at least Three to One against You: For at That time, the Third Part of This Number was the Predominant Interest of the Nation.

Ex Coll.
P. 2, 3.

C. That does not follow; for you may remember, that at the beginning of the late War, The Party were Masters of the Tower, The Navy, of all Considerable Forts, Towns, and Magazines: They had a great part of the Crown and Church Revenues under their Command, and London at their Beck: Beside the Plunder of Malignants, and the Bountiful Contributions of the Well-affected. Scotland was already Confederate with them in *One Rebellion*; and they had made sure of *Another in Ireland* (by Persecuting the Earl of Strafford, who was the only Person Capable of Keeping them Quiet.) Which they further assisted, by a Gross Opposition of his Majesties Proposals, and Resolutions to suppress it. [See the Kings Speech of Decemb. 14. 1641, and the following Petition concerning the same.] Finally, for the better Countenance of their Usurpations, the House of Commons was drawn down into a close Committee, and the Votes of that Junto were Impos'd upon the Nation as the Acts of a Regular, and Complete Authority. This was their Condition formerly; but blessed be God, it is not so at present.

Three Kingdoms are now at Peace; and we have a Parliament that is no Friend to the Faction. The King is Posselt of a Considerable Guard, which his Royal Father wanted. The Militia is in safe Hands. His Majesty is likewise posselt of his Regal Power, and Revenue: And his Capital City firm in its Obedience: To all which may be added, that although divers Particulars are as Wealthy as Pillage, and Pardon, can make them; Yet they want a Common Stock to carry on a Common Cause. The *Thimblers*, and *Bodkins* fail; and the Comfortable In-comes of *Irish Adventures*; *Moneys* and *Plate* upon the *Propositions*; *Confiscated Estates*; *Twentieth Parts*; and *Weekly Assessments*; and a hundred other pecuniary Stratagems are departed from them.

If it be so, that these People have None of these Advantages now remaining, by virtue whereof, they did so much Mischief before; What Necessity of Toleration for fear of Disobliging Them?

N.C. However, it is not for your credit, safety, shift or profit that we conduct, by whom your selves have been worked.

111. C. The Men that wanted us, were a sort of People that Voted down Bishops on the wrong side of the Parliament-house Doors: That cry'd, They would have no more Porter's; I Judge, a Vnderball; and told his Sacred Majesty in a Publique Declaration [Aug: 8. 47.] that The Pretence that his Person was there in Danger, was a Sugg:tion as false as the Parol of Lies could teach us: That Seiz'd on the Tower, The Navy, the Kings Towns, Ports, Magazines, Friends, and Revenues; That Levy'd War against; and Imprison'd his Sacred Person; Usurp'd his Sovereign-Authority? Imbrued their Hands in his Royal Blood; and in the very Pulpit, animated, and avowed the Unexampled Murder.

If *These* be the People which you plead for, under the Notion of *Non-Conformists*, never trouble your selves to go *Nine Miles* about for a *Toleration*: But come roundly up to the *Point*, and desire his Majesty to deliver us his *Crown*. If it be *Otherwise*, you have overshot your self in your *Challenge*; and it does not appear, that you are the *Numerous*, *Politick*, and *United Party* we took you for. If the *Non-Conformists* were the Principal *Conductors* in that Design, they are not honest enough to be *trusted*; and I *seem* Reason of *State*, to *Dispose* the King to *Gratify* the *Murderers* of his *Father*. If they were not so, it was none of *Their Conduct* that did the *Work*.

N. C. If Societies, and Professions, shall be made answerable for the Failings of Particulars, All Communities, and Fellowships will be found blameable alike; for there is no Order, or Way, without Corrupt Pretenders to't: And it is not enough to say, there were Non-Conformists i: the Party; unless you prove, that what those Non-Conformists did, was acted upon a Principle, Common to Dissenters; and that they did it, as Non-Conformists.

C. This is a *Defence*, instead of an *Answer*; as if I had now charg'd the *Combination* upon the *Non-Conformists*, when I only ask, if they were the *Managers* of it; or No? *This*, you neither *Confess*, nor *Deny*; And there let it rest: Since the *Dilemma* lies indifferently against you, whether *they were*, or not, (as does already appear) Touching the *Unity* you boast of, (I must confess) it is as eminent against your *Superiours*, as your *Disagreements* are among your *selves*. And take all together, I see *Nothing* made out as yet, to prove, that the

Kingdom is likely to be either the *Power* for *Giving* a *Toleration* or *Worse* for *Refusing* it. Moreover, We are not unacquainted with your *false Masters*. *Nine Presbyteries*, of *Fifty*, made up *One* of your *General Assemblies*. And upon the *Seventeen* at *Highland Town*, in *1694*, of *above Nine Thousand* *Ministers*, were *five* *Hundred* *upon the Right*, *their* *Good* *out*, and were *deposited*. Such a *Knife* (say *Spotswood*) will a *few* *Disturbers* *cause*, in any *Society* *where* they are *tolerated*. But what if a *Man* should allow the *Non-Conformists* to be as *valuable* as you represent them? Is it but a *kind* of *Popish* *Argument*, to urge the *Worshipping* of *Idols* (as the *Antients* do the *Deity*) for fear they should hurt us. *W. B. 1703* *and* *T. 1704* *and* *1705* *and* *1706* *and* *1707* *and* *1708* *and* *1709* *and* *1710* *and* *1711* *and* *1712* *and* *1713* *and* *1714* *and* *1715* *and* *1716* *and* *1717* *and* *1718* *and* *1719* *and* *1720* *and* *1721* *and* *1722* *and* *1723* *and* *1724* *and* *1725* *and* *1726* *and* *1727* *and* *1728* *and* *1729* *and* *1730* *and* *1731* *and* *1732* *and* *1733* *and* *1734* *and* *1735* *and* *1736* *and* *1737* *and* *1738* *and* *1739* *and* *1740* *and* *1741* *and* *1742* *and* *1743* *and* *1744* *and* *1745* *and* *1746* *and* *1747* *and* *1748* *and* *1749* *and* *1750* *and* *1751* *and* *1752* *and* *1753* *and* *1754* *and* *1755* *and* *1756* *and* *1757* *and* *1758* *and* *1759* *and* *1760* *and* *1761* *and* *1762* *and* *1763* *and* *1764* *and* *1765* *and* *1766* *and* *1767* *and* *1768* *and* *1769* *and* *1770* *and* *1771* *and* *1772* *and* *1773* *and* *1774* *and* *1775* *and* *1776* *and* *1777* *and* *1778* *and* *1779* 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*and* *1934* *and* *1935* *and* *1936* *and* *1937* *and* *1938* *and* *1939* *and* *1940* *and* *1941* *and* *1942* *and* *1943* *and* *1944* *and* *1945* *and* *1946* *and* *1947* *and* *1948* *and* *1949* *and* *1950* *and* *1951* *and* *1952* *and* *1953* *and* *1954* *and* *1955* *and* *1956* *and* *1957* *and* *1958* *and* *1959* *and* *1960* *and* *1961* *and* *1962* *and* *1963* *and* *1964* *and* *1965* *and* *1966* *and* *1967* *and* *1968* *and* *1969* *and* *1970* *and* *1971* *and* *1972* *and* *1973* *and* *1974* *and* *1975* *and* *1976* *and* *1977* *and* *1978* *and* *1979* *and* *1980* *and* *1981* *and* *1982* *and* *1983* *and* *1984* *and* *1985* *and* *1986* *and* *1987* *and* *1988* *and* *1989* *and* *1990* *and* *1991* *and* *1992* *and* *1993* *and* *1994* *and* *1995* *and* *1996* *and* *1997* *and* *1998* *and* *1999* *and* *2000* *and* *2001* *and* *2002* *and* *2003* *and* *2004* *and* *2005* *and* *2006* *and* *2007* *and* *2008* *and* *2009* *and* *2010* *and* *2011* *and* *2012* *and* *2013* *and* *2014* *and* *2015* *and* *2016* *and* *2017* *and* *2018* *and* *2019* *and* *2020* *and* *2021* *and* *2022* *and* *2023* *and* *2024* *and* *2025* *and* *2026* *and* *2027* *and* *2028* *and* *2029* *and* *2030* *and* *2031* *and* *2032* *and* *2033* *and* *2034* *and* *2035* *and* *2036* *and* *2037* *and* *2038* *and* *2039* *and* *2040* *and* *2041* *and* *2042* *and* *2043* *and* *2044* *and* *2045* *and* *2046* *and* *2047* *and* *2048* *and* *2049* *and* *2050* *and* *2051* *and* *2052* *and* *2053* *and* *2054* *and* *2055* *and* *2056* *and* *2057* *and* *2058* *and* *2059* *and* *2060* *and* *2061* *and* *2062* *and* *2063* *and* *2064* *and* *2065* *and* *2066* *and* *2067* *and* *2068* *and* *2069* *and* *2070* *and* *2071* *and* *2072* *and* *2073* *and* *2074* *and* *2075* *and* *2076* *and* *2077* *and* *2078* *and* *2079* *and* *2080* *and* *2081* *and* *2082* *and* *2083* *and* *2084* *and* *2085* *and* *2086* *and* *2087* 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*and* *2396* *and* *2397* *and* *2398* *and* *2399* *and* *2400* *and* *2401* <

C. You should have abominated the Money too, for which ye sold Him.

N. C. Who sold him ?

C. The *Presbyterians* sold Him; and the *Independents* were the Purchasers.

N. C. Did not the *Presbyterians* Vote His *Majesties* Concessions a Ground for a Treaty ?

C. Yes; but it was upon Conditions, worse then Death it self. They deliver'd Him up too, when they might have preserved him : And they stickled for Him, when they knew they could do Him no Good.

N. C. What End could they have in That ?

C. The very same End in —48, which they had in —41. To make a Party by it, and set up a *Presbyterian Interest* in the King's Name.

N. C. All the World knows, We were so much afflicted for his Sacred *Majesties* Distress, that We had many Solemn days of Humiliation for it.

C. So ye had for his *Successes* (when Time was) for fear he should get the Better of Ye : And you had your days of *Thanksgiving* too, for his Disasters.

N. C. Pray let me ask You One Question now : Who brought in this King ?

C. They that would not suffer You to keep him out : That Party, which, by a *Retiers*, and incessant *Loyalty*, hindered your Establishment.

N. C. And what do you think of the *Secinded Members* ?

C. We I speak to that Point in another Place ! But can you tell me What was the Ground of the Quarrel ? Suppose I tell you, tell you What was the Event of it.

N.C. Religion, and Liberty: being made over blood now.

C. Of Which Side were the *Tender Consciences*? For the King; Or Against Him?

N.C. We were ever for the King; Witness our Petitions, Declarations, and, in a most Signal manner, Our Solemn League and Covenant.

C. Now I thought you had been against Him: because You took away his Revenue, Authority, and Life: Unless you mean that you were For Him in your Words, as you were Against Him in your Actions.

N.C. There were many of Us, that lov'd the King as well as any of those about Him.

C. According to the Covenant (That is) And does not your Party love This King, as well as they did the Last? I do not think but you love the Bishops too.

N.C. Truly when they are out of their Fooleries, I have no Quarrel to the Men. But what makes you couple the Crown, and the Mitre still? As if no Man could be a Good Subject, that is disaffected to Prelacy.

C. Why truly, I think you can hardly shew me any One Non-Conformist that ever struck Stroke for the King; Or any true Son of the Episcopal Order of the Church, that ever bore Arms against Him.

N.C. Are not you your self satisfied that even Cromwel Himself, and divers of his Principal Officers, when the late King was at Hampton-Court, had Deliberations, and Intentions to Save Him? and that there were Thousands in the Army, that had no Unkindness for his Majesty?

C. I do absolutely believe, both the One, and the Other; and that the Folly, and Headlesness of the Common Souldier contributed, in a High Measure to the General Fate: Nay, that his Late Majesty was oppress'd, even by those, that thought they fought for him, before they understood what they did. But yet let me Commend to your Observation, that these relenting Intervals in the Heads of the Army did manifestly Key, according to the Pulse of their Affairs. Which evinces, that it was a Deliberation, upon the matter of Convenience, rather

rather then upon a Point of *Conscience*. But thus far, however, we are agreed; That *many* of the *Non-Conformists* were engaged, Whether upon *Ignorance*, *Interest*, or *Passion*, take your Choice. That is to say, upon which of these three you will found the *Manner* of your *Party*.

We are next to Enquire, How far your *Ignorance*, and *Passion*, will comport with the *Duties of Society*, and the *Oaths of Government*.

SECT. II.

The Non-Conformists Plea for Toleration, from the Innocence, and Modesty of their Opinions and Practices.

IN the Question of *Government*, and *Obedience*, there are many Points; wherein the *Non-Conformists* agree; many more wherein they differ: and not a few wherein they are altogether *Fluctuant*, and *Uncertain*. We have Nothing to do (in this Place) with their *Disagreements*, or *Uncertainties*; save only in those Matters wherein they are United by *Common Consent*: And to Determine what those are; will be a new Difficulty, unless you tell us before-hand, what *Authorities* we may depend upon. Your *Principles* must be *Known*, or they cannot be *Examined*. wherefore, pray'e, direct us where we may finde them.

N.C. Why truly in the History of the Reformation; for this Controversie has been on foot from the very beginning of it, to this day.

C. If you speak of the Reformation beyond the Seas, I do not finde any thing there, that comes near our Purpose. Here is, first, pretended, a Reformation of a Reformation; Secondly, a *Conjunction* of *Several Parties*, and *Persuasions*; at utter *Enmity* one with another, in a *Confederacy* against the Order of *Government*: Whereas in the great Turn of Affairs *Abroad*, I see little more then a *Defection* from the Church of *Rome*, and People setting themselves in some other way, as well as they could. *Mutizer's* Party in Germany, had (I confess) some resemblance of the Tumults here in England, that Usher'd in the Late War; both for the *Medly*, and the *Rabble*. In Scotland indeed, there was a *Conquest*, for the Reforming of a Reformation; and it went high; but it was only a Struggle for the *Geneva-Discipline*; which Humour was brought over to Us too, and driven

on

only for a while, under *O. E. E. E. E.* with much *Contumacy*, and *Bitterness*. But our Case (in short) was never known in the Christian world, till the late Troubles: and though it is, that we must resort for Satisfaction to our present *Equity*. Now whether you'll be tried by the *Declarations, Votes, Orders, and Ordinances* of that Pretended Parliament that carry'd on the Quarrel: or by the undeniable *Doctrines* and *Principles* of your own *Denominations*; (and those the very *Idols* of your Party) is left at your Election.

N.C. *As for the Parliament, let them answer for themselves: We had no hand in their Proceedings. And for our Ministers, They were but Men, and may have their Failings, as well as other People. If you would know our Principles: We are for Worshipping according to the Light of Our Consciences, for Obeying God rather than Man; and for yielding all due Obedience to the Civil Magistrate.*

C. All This comes to Nothing. For you may make that *Light* what you please; and Qualify that *due Obedience* as you list. What does all this Evasion, and Obscurity signify; but that there is somewhat in the bottom, more than you are willing to own?

There are a sort of People, that tell us, *The War raised in—41, in the Name of King and Parliament, was Lawful. And That the Sovereignty was lodg'd in the Two Houses, (Nay in the People) in Case of Necessity. That Kings are but the Peoples Trustees; Their Power, Fiduciary; and the Duty of Subjects only Conditional. That Princes may be Depos'd: Nay, and put to Death, in case of Tyranny: And That their Persons may be Resisted, but not their Authority. That the King is Singulis Major, Universis Minor: And that the People may Enter into Covenant, for the Reformation of Religion, without the Consent of the Chief Magistrate, nay, against his Authority; and Propagate Religion by the Sword. They make their Appeals, from the Literal Construction of Law to the Equitable; from the Law Written to the Law of Nature, and Necessity.*

A Man might ply you with fresh Instances upon this Subject, till to morrow morning; but here we'll stop: And pray speak your Opinion now, of Granting a *Toleration*, to a Party that *Professes*, and *Teaches*, these Principles: and *Acts* accordingly.

N.C. *What is all This to the Non-Conformists? Who are already come to an Agreement; that, in the Question of Toleration, the Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government, is to be Secured.*

C. Very

Very Good. So that what Party ever may be found Guilty of the *Personal* aforesaid, and of *Offences* answerable thereunto, cannot reasonably pretend to a *Privilege*, from the *Indolence* of their *Opinions* and *Practices*. Now to Particulars.

THE POSITIONS of Some Eminent Non-Conformists.

I. The War raised by the Two Houses in the Name of King and Parliament, 1641. was Lawful.

[I cannot see, that I was mistaken in the main Cause, nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the same, if it were to do again, in the same State of Things. And my Judgement tells me, that if I should do otherwise, I should be guilty of Treason or Disloyalty, against the Sovereign Power of the Land, Pag. 486.

Baxters Holy Communion. Printed 1659.

A King, abusing his Power, to the Overthrow of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, may be Controulled and Opposed: This may serve to justify the Proceedings of this Kingdom against the Late King, who in a Hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties, Pag. 10.

Douglasse Sermon, Preacht at Scovone, Ja. 1. 1651. Printed 1660.

The Rightness of the Parliaments Cause, is as clear, as the Sun at Noon-day. And, like the Law of God it self, in these Excellent Qualifications of it, that it is Holy, Just, and Good, P. 6.

F. Goodwins Anti-Cavalierism.

II. The Lords and Commons are the Supreme Power; Nay, the People, in case of Necessity.

Parliaments may judge of Publique Necessity, without the King; (If deserted by the King) and are to be accompted, by vertue of Representation, as the whole Body of the State, P. 45.

The Observator.

Whensoever a King, or other Superiour Authority, creates an *Excise*; they Invest it with a Legitimacy of Magistratical Power to punish themselves also, in case they prove Evil-doers, P. 7.

Right and Might well met. 1643.

England is a mixt Monarchy, and Governed by the major part of the Three Estates Assembled in Parliament. P. 111.

Parliaments.

The Houses are not only requisite to the Attiing of the Power of making Laws, but Co-ordinate with his Majesty, in the very Power of Attiing, P. 42.

Physick. Abahs Fall.

When a Part of the Legislative Power resides in the Two Houses, as also a Power to redress Grievances, and to call into Question all Ministers of State, and Justice, and all Subjects, of whatsoever Degree, in case

Interest of Engl. in matters of Religion. 1660.

case of Delinquency; It may be thought, that a Part of the Supreme Power doth reside in Them, though they have not the Honorary Title: And this Part of the Supreme Power, is only capable of doing wrong; yet how it might be guilty of Repression, is more difficult to conceive. P. 110.

The Peoples Cause
itself, An.
1662.

The Delegates of the People, in the House of Commons, and the Commissioners on the Kings behalf, in the House of Peers, concurring; do very far binde the King, if not wholly, P. 112. and when these cannot agree, but break one from another, the Commons in Parliament assembled, are Ex Officio, The Keepers of the Liberties of the Nation, and Righteous Possessors, and Defenders of it, against all Usurpers, and Usurpations, whatsoever. P. 130.

III. Kings are but the Peoples TRUSTEES; Their Power, Fiduciary, and the Duty of Subjects, Conditional.

[The King is but the Servant of the People; and his Royalty is only a Virtual Emanation from them; and in Them, radically, as in the first Subject.] So Rutherford, Parker, Goodwin, Bridges, Milton, &c.

Lex Rex.
An 1644.

The People can give no other Power, then such as God has given Them: And God has never given a moral Power to do Evil. All Fiduciary Power, abused, may be repealed; And Parliamentary Power is no Other: Which, if it be abused, The People may repeal it; and resist them; Annulling their Commissions; Rescinding their Acts; and Denuding Them of their Fiduciary Power: Even as the King Himself may be denuded of the same Power by the Three Estates. P. 152.

For Popu-
li, 1644.

Declarat.
touching
the 4 Bills,
Mar. 13.
1647.

Vindicia
contra Tyr-
annos.
Printed
1648.

Princes derive their Power, and Prerogative from the People; and have their Investitures, meerly for the Peoples Benefit. P. 1.

It is the Kings Duty to pass all such Laws, as Both Houses shall judge Good for the Kingdom: Upon a Supposition That They are Good, Which by them are judged Such.

If the Prince fail in his Promise, the People are Exempt from their Obedience; The Contract is made Void, and the Right of Obligation is of no Force—It is therefore permitted to the Officers of a Kingdom, either All, or some good Number of them, to Suppress a Tyrant. P. 120, 121.

IV. Princes may be DEPOSED, and put to DEATH, in Case of Tyranny.

Renure of
Kings,
1549.

Every Worthy Man, in Parliament, may, for the Publick Good, be thought a fit Peer, and Indge of the King. P. 24.

Where

Where there is no opportunity for the Interposure of Other Judges, the Law of Nature, and the Law of Nations allow Every Man to Judge in his own Case. P. 34.

Goodwin's Defence of the Kings Sentence.

If a Prince wanteth such Understanding, Goodness, or Power, as the People judge necessary to the Ends of Government; In the first place; He is Capable of the Name, but not of the Government. In the Second; He Deposeth Himself. In the Third; The want of Power, Deposeth him.

Mr. Baxter's Holy Commonwealth.

Theses 135, 136, 137.

It is lawful for any, who have the Power, to call to Account, a Tyrant, or Wicked King; And after due Conviction, so Depose, and put him to Death, if the Ordinary Magistrate have Neglected, or Deny'd to do it.

Tenure of Kings, 1649.

It is not impossible, for a King, Regis Personam Exuere; In a Natural Or MORAL Madnes or Frenzy to turn Tyrant, Yea Beast, Waving his Royal Place, Violently, Extrajudicially, Extramagisterially to assault his Subjects, as Saul did David. In this Case, Men think Nature doth Dictate it; and Scripture doth Justifie a Man, Se Defendendo Vini Virepellere. P. 23.

A Survey of the grand Case, printed 1663.

The Real Sovereignty among Us, was in King, Lords, and Commons; and if the King raise War against such a Parliament: The King may not only be resisted, but (saith to be a King. Thesis 338.

Mr. Baxter's Holy Commonwealth.

The Lord rent the Kingdom from Saul, for sparing One Agag; and for want of thorough Extirpation of all the accursed Things, He lost both Thanks for What He had done, and Kingdom also. P. 27.

Mr. Fairclough before the Commons

Let no Law hinder Ye: If Law be to be broken, it is for a Crown and therefore, for Religion.—Ye are set over Kingdoms, to Root out, Pull down, Destroy, and Throw down: Do it quickly, Do it thoroughly.

M. Symonds, son.

By what Rule of Conscience, or God, is a State Bound to Sacrifice Religion, Laws, and Liberties, rather then endure, that the Princes Life should come into any Possibilities of Hazard, by Defending them, against those that in his Name are bent to subdue them? If he will needs thrust Himself upon the Hazard, when He needs not, Whose Fault is That?

Scripture and Reason for defensive Arms, 1643.

There never was a Greater Harmony of the Laws of Nature, Reason, Prudence, and Necessity, to Warrant any Act, then may be found, and discern'd in that Act of Justice on the Late King. P. 18.

English Translation of the Scots Declaration.

Touching the Righteousness of the Sentence past upon the King; Doubtless never was any Person under Heaven, Sentenc'd with Death upon more Equitable, and Just Grounds. P. 90.

Defence of the Kings Sentence. To Goodwin.

Praised be God, Who hath deliver'd us from the Impositions of Prelatical Innovations, Altar-Genu-flections, and Cringings, with Crostings, and All that Popish Trash and Trumpery. And truly (I speak as

The Policy of Princes.

no more then what I have often thought, and said) The Removal of those Insupportable Burdens, Countervails for the Blood and Treasure shed and Spent in these late Distractions: Nor did I ever hear of any Godly Men that desired, were it Possible, to Purchase their Friends, or Money again, at so dear a Rate, as with the Return of These, to have Those Soul-Burdening, Antichristian Taxes re-imposed upon Us. And if any such there be, I am sure, that Desire is no part of their Godliness; and I profess myself, in That, to be none of the Number. P. 23.

V. The Persons of Princes may be resisted, though not their Authority.

Lex Rex. The Man who is King, may be resisted, but not the Royal Office: The King in Concreto, but not the King in Abstracto. P. 265. [He may be resisted in a Pitch'd Battel, and with Swords, and Guns. 324. That is; His Private Will may be resisted, not his Legal Will. 269. Neither is He in the Field, as a King, but as an unjust Invader, and Gratisfactor. 324. If He chance to be Slain, 'Tis but an Accident; and who can help it? 324. He is guilty of his own Death; Or let Them answer for't that brought Him thither, The Contrary Party is Innocent. 273.]

*Mr. War's
Analysis of
the Cove-
nant
English
Transla-
tion.*

The King's Authority is with the Two Houses, though the Person of Charles Stuart be not there.

His Capacity was at Westminster, when his Body was upon the Scaffold at White-hall, &c. P. 18.

VI. The King is Singulis Major, Universis Minor.

Lex Rex. The King is in Dignity Inferior to the People. P. 140. The Sovereign Power is Eminently, Fontaliter; Originally, and Radically in the People. 156.

*De Man-
chis Ab-
solutis.*

Detrahere Indigno Magistratum eisi Privati non Debeant, Populus tamen Univerfus quin possit, Nemo, Opinor, dubitabit. "It is not for Private Persons to Depose a Wicked Governour: But that the Universality of the people may Lawfully do it, I think no Body questions. Fixum Retinque habeatur, Populi semper esse debere Supremam Majestatem P. 9.

VII. The People may enter into a Covenant for Reformation, without the Consent of the Chief Magistrate.

*Mr. Caryl
at taking
the Cove-
nant, 1643.*

There is much Sin in making a Covenant on Sinful Grounds, and there is more Sin in Keeping it; But when the Preservation of true Religion,

Religion, and the Vindication of Just Liberties meet in the Ground, Ye may Swear, and not Repent; Yea, if Ye Swear, Ye must not Repent. P. 18. No only is That Covenant which God hath made with Us, founded in the Blood of Christ; but That also, which We make with God. P. 33.

The Breach of the National Covenant is a Greater Sin, then a Sin The People against a Commandment, or against an Ordinance. 148.—A Sin of six, &c. so high a Nature, that God cannot in Honour but be avenged upon't. 159.

VIII. Religion may be Propagated by the Sword.

The Question in England is, Whether Christ, or Anti-Christ, shall be Lord, or King? Go on therefore Courageously: Never can ye lay out your Blood in such a Quarrel. Christ shed all his Blood to save You from Hell. Venture All Yours, to set Him upon his Throne. P. 32.

Cursed be he that withholdeth his Sword from Blood; that spares, when God saith Strike; that suffers those to escape, whom God has appointed to Destruction. P. 24.

In the 10 of Numbers, you shall read, that there were Two Silver Trumpets; and as there were Priests appointed for the Convocation of their Assemblies, so there were Priests to sound the Silver Trumpets to Proclaim the War. And likewise in the 20 of Deuteronomy, you shall find there, that when the Children of Israel would go out to War, the Sons of Levi (one of the Priests) was to make a Speech to Encourage them. And certainly, if this were the Way of God in the Old Testament; certainly, much more in such a Cause as This, in which Cause, Religion is so entwin'd, and indeed so emperlac'd, that Religion, and This Cause, are like Hippocrates his Twins, they must live, and dye together.

You have vow'd in the Covenant to Assist the Forces raised by the Parliament, according to your Power, and Obedience; and not to assist the Forces raised by the King, neither Directly, nor Indirectly. P. 43. Now let me exhort you, not only to chuse to serve God, and to serve his Church, and his Cause, in this most Just Defensive War, &c. 46.

In vain shall you in your Fasts, with Iosiah, lay on your Faces, unless you lay your Achans on their Backs: In vain are the High Praises of God in your Mouths, without a Two-edged Sword in your Hands. P. 31.

The Execution of Judgement is the Lords Work, and they shall be Cursed that do it Negligently; and Cursed shall they be that keep back their Sword from Blood in this Cause. You know the Story of Gods Messenger Ahab, for letting Benhadad go upon Composition. P. 26.

Whosoever you shall behold the Hand of God, in the Fall of Babylon,

Mr. Brid-
get on Rev.
48.

say, True; Here is a Babylonish Priest crying out, Alas! Alas! My Living; I have Wife and Children to Maintain. I: but all this as to perform the Judgment of the Lord. P. 39. Though as Little Ones, they call for Pity, yet as Babylonish, they call for Justice, even to Blood.

IX. There lies an Appeal from the Letter of the Law, to the Equity of it; and from the Law written, to the Law of Nature.

Ex. Coll
P. 150.
An. 1642.
Lex Rex.

The Commander going against the EQUITY of the Law, gives Liberty to the Commanded, to refuse Obedience to the Letter of it.

Ibid.

There is a Court of Necessity, no less than a Court of Justice; and the Fundamental Laws must then speak: and it is with a People, in this Extremity, as if they had no Ruler. P. 113. The People have given the Politique Power to the King; and the NATURAL Power they reserve to Themselves. 151.

Right and
Might.

All Humane Laws and Constitutions are made with Knees, to bend to the Law of NATURE and NECESSITY. P. 85.

Here is more then enough said already; and to go on as far as the Matter would carry us, there would be no End on't.

You are now at Liberty, either to deny These to be the Positions of the Non-Conformists; or to justify the Positions themselves; or to lay down your Plea for Toleration, upon the Innocency of their Principles.

N.C. I am no Friend to These Positions: Neither can I yet quit my Claim, unless you make it out, that These are the Principles of the Party, which I take to be only the Errours of Individuals.

C. Shew me the Party, and let me alone to prove These to be Their Principles. But if you will acknowledge a Party, they are (as you say) but the Errours of Individuals; though all the Non-Conformists in the Three Kingdoms should own them under their Hands.

Ex. Coll.
P. 2.
Ibid.

You call your selves Non-Conformists, and so were they, that both began, and carried on the Late War. Great Apprehensions they had of the Designs of the Popish Party. [So have you.] Mightily offended they were at the Immoderate Power of the Bishops. [You again.] Persecutors for the taking away such Oppressions in Religion, Church Government, and Discipline, as had been brought in, and Fomented by them. [Your very Picture still.] And for Uniting all such together, as joyn in the same Fundamental Truths, against the Papists: by removing some

Oppressions,

Oppressions, and Unnecessary Ceremonies, by which, Divers weak Consciences have been scrupled, and seem to be divided from the rest. [The very Platform of your Comprehension.] Thus far You march Hand in Hand: I need not tell you what followed upon't; but Your Parties are so much alike, that it looks as if We were now again upon the first Scene of the same Tragedy. For a Conclusion, Conformity, or Non-Conformity, seem'd at first to be the Sum of the Question: and the Discipline of the Church was made the Ground of the Quarrel. The Ruling Party in the Pretended Parliament, were Non-Conformists: The Army, Non-Conformists; The Pretended Assembly of Divines were Non-Conformists; The City-Ministers, and Lecturers, Non-Conformists; And by the Solemn League and Covenant, every Man that took it, was to be a Non-Conformist, upon pain of Damnation. Now take Your Choice, (since Non-Conformists you are) Whether you'll Range your selves under the Parliament; Your Army; Your Assembly; Your City-Administers; Or Your Solemn League and Covenant: And let me bear the Blame, If I make it not as clear as the Day, That the Principles charg'd upon You, are the Principles of Your Party.

* As to your *Practises*, they have been suitable to your *Positions*, and all those violences have been exercis'd upon the Government, that were first Dictated in the Pulpit. The Lawfulness of Popular Insurrections: Of *Deposing*, and putting *Kings* to death, under the cloak of Reformation, has been vented as the *Doctrine of Jesus Christ*, even by the *Oracles of your Cause*: Nay; and several of them (at present) *eager Asserters* of the Equity of a Toleration. And what has been the Fruit of these *Unchristian Lectures*; but the Subversion both of Church and State: And the Murder of a Pious, and Gracious Prince, under Pretence of Doing God and the King some Good Service?

N. C. *These are Actions (I confess) not to be warranted; but yet my Charity persuades me, that a great part of the Mischief they did, proceeded rather from Necessity, then Inclination.*

C. Will ye see then what they did afterward, when they were at Liberty to do what they list'd?

They had no sooner Murdered the Father, but immediately (a) They made it Death to Proclaim the Son. (b) They abolish'd Kingly Government. (c) Sold the Crown-Lands. (d) Declared it Treason to deny the Supremacy of the Commons. (e) Null'd all Honours and Titles

granted

Scobell

Ad. 3c.

(a) Pac. 2.

P. 3.

(b) P. 7.

(c) P. 51.

(d) P. 65.

(e) P. 17.

(N) p. 293. *granted by the King James—41. (P) Adds Scotland One Common-wealth with England, &c.*

- Have they now kept any better touch with the *Liberty and Property of the Subjects*? Let their Proceedings Witness for them; (a) *As their Tax upon the Fifth and Twentieth Part. (b) Excise upon Flesh, Victuals and Salt. (c) A new Excise upon all sorts of Copperas. (d) Monmouth Caps, Hops, Saffron, Starch, &c. (e) A Loan of 66655 l. 13 s. 4 d. for Supply of the Scots. (f) An Assessment for the Maintenance of the Army. (g) The House of Peers Abolish'd; and a Monthly Tax of 90000 l. for the Army. (h) A Monthly Tax of 120000 l. (i) An Imposition upon Coal. (j) A Monthly Assessment of 60000 l. Not to clog the Discourse with over many Particulars! We'll see next, what They have done, toward the Moderating of the Power of Bishops, and the Removal of Unnecessary Ceremonies. (k) The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury suspended, and his Temporalties Sequestred. (l) Monuments of Superstition Demolish'd; (That is in short, an Ordinance for Sacrilege). (m) The Book of Common-Prayer laid aside, and the Directory Commanded instead of it. (n) Arch-Bishops and Bishops abolish'd, and their Lands settled in Trustees. (o) Their Lands expos'd to Sale. (p) Festivals abolish'd. (q) Deans and Chapters, &c. Abolish'd: And their Lands to be sold.*

This is Your Way, OF *MODERATING* the Power of Bishops, and of *REMOVING UNNECESSARY CEREMONIES*. And This is the *History* (in Little) of the *Opinions*, and *Practises* of your Party; Drawn from matter of *Fact*; Provable to a Syllable; and deliver'd without any Amplification of the Matter.

N.C. *Ill things have been done, there's no Question on't; But they have been done by Ill Men: And 'tis not a Toleration of Faction that We pretend to, but a Toleration of Conscience.*

C. Which Toleration (upon farther search) will be found to be a meer *Utopian Project, or Warfe.*

SECT. X.

The Non-Conformists demand a Toleration, which is neither Intel-
ligible in the Whole, nor Practicable, so far as it may be Un-
derstood.

IT makes a great Noise in the World, the Out-try of the Non-
Conformists; for Toleration, Indulgence, Liberty of Conscience,
Comprehension, &c. Let them but set it down in a Clear, Practicable,
and Intelligible Proposition, and I dare say, They shall have it for the
asking.

N. C. We do Propound, That Reformed Christianity may be set-
led in its DUE LATITUDE. Disc. of
Relig.
Title pag.

By Reformed Christianity, I suppose you intend the Protestant Re-
ligion: But your DUE LATITUDE is of a Suspicious Intimation.
Do not you remember a Declaration of the Two Houses (April 9. Ex. Coll.
p. 135.
1642.) for a DUE, and Necessary Reformation of the Government,
and Liturgy of the Church: And Nothing to be taken away, either in the
One, or in the Other, but what should be found evil, and justly Offensive;
Or, at least, Unnecessary, and Burdensome? This Due Reformation
ended (as you may remember) in a Total Extirpation of Both Litur-
gy and Government: And we see nothing to the contrary, but Your
DUE LATITUDE may signifie the very same thing with Their
DUE REFORMATION. Pray be a little Clearer.

N. C. Then to put all out of doubt? I would in the first place have
An Establishment's Order: Secondly, A Limited Toleration: Thirdly,
A Discreet Conivance. Disc. of
Relig.
part 1.
p. 28.

The Parties comprehended in the Establishment, to be of Importance
in the Publique Interest; and of Principles congruous to such Stated
Order in the Church, as the Stability of the Commonwealth re-
quires.

I would have the Toleration, to Extend to Those that are of Sound
Belief, and Good Life; yet have taken in some Principles of Church
Government less congruous to National Settlement. Disc. of
Relig.
part 1.
p. 30.

And for Conivance, it is to be remitted to Discretion.

Or What

Toleration Disputed.

C. What is all this now, but an *Universal Toleration*, in a *Disguise*? Some to be *Comprehended* within the *Establishment*? Others to be *Tolerated*; And the *Rest* to be *Connived at*.

Again; Your *Establishment* is to be of a *Latitude*, to take in several sorts of *Dissenters*, under such and such *Qualifications*. They must be of *Importance* to the *Publicke Interest*; and of *Principles Congruous* to such *Stated Order* in the *Church*, as the *Stability* of the *Commonwealth* requires. Ask the *Dissenters* *Themselves* concerning their own *Qualifications*, and They'll tell you, that they are all of them of *Important Interests*, and of *Congruous Principles*: So that this way, you are still upon an *Universal Toleration*. But on the *Other Side*, if You Consult *Authority* about your *Comprehension*, The *Preface* to the *Act* for *Uniformity* will tell You, that the *Establishment* is as wide already as the *Peace* of the *Nation* will well bear. If you'll *Acquiesce* in *This Judgment*, the *Case* is determined to our *Hand*: If you *Appeal* from it, You cast your selves out of the *Pale* of your own *Project*, because of your *Principles Incongruous* to the *Reason* of *Government*.

N. C. But it appears to me, that the *Stated Order* of the *Church* may be widen'd without any *Cheek* to the *Stability* of *Government*.

C. And what will this avail You, if it appears otherwise to the *Governours Themselves*? If They may be *Judges*, the *Strife* is at an *End*; but if you think to help your selves by *Translating* the *Judgment* to the *People*; After that *Day*, let us never expect any other *Law*, than the *Dictate* of the *Rabble*. It removes the very *Foundations* of the *Government*, and Carries Us headlong into *Anarchy*, and *Confusion*, without *Redemption*.

If a Man should ask you now, about Your *Importance* in *Publicke Interest*; First; as to the *Interest* it self, Whether you mean an *Interest* of *Raising Men*, and *Moneys*; Or *What Other*? Next; as to the *Degree*, and *Measure* of your *Importance*; How many *Regiments* of the *One*, and How many *Millions* of the *Other*, makes up that *Importance*? Would you not take *Time* for an *Answer*?

And then, We are as much at a *Loss* about Your [*Such Stated Order in the Church as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires*.] You give Us no *Satisfaction* at all, Wherein the *Stability* of the *Commonwealth* consists; Or *What Stated Order* in the *Church* that *Stability* requires: But here is a kind of a *Moot Point* cast in, betwixt *Authority*, and the *People*, Which of the *Two* shall *Determine*, upon That *Congruity*, and *Convenience*.

YOUR

Your *Limited Toleration* too stands or falls upon the *Same Bottom*, with Your *Comprehension*: That is to say, Who shall Judge of the *Sound Belief*, and *Good Life* of the *Pretendents* to that *Indulgence*.

As to your *Connivence*, You say Nothing of it your self; and I shall Reflect as little upon it.

Let me not only Observe Upon the Whole; that if you had really a *Mind* to set Us right, Methinks, You should not Trifle Us with these *Ambiguities*, and *Amusements*: But rather endeavour by some *Pertinent*, *Intelligible*, and *Practicable Proposition*, to bring Us to a better Understanding. Say, *What Injunctions* you would have abated; *Name the Parties* You would Recommend for their *Importance of Interests*, *Congruity of Principles*, *Sound Faith*, and *Good Life*, Teach us how to know these *Qualities*, Where to look for them, and Who shall Judge of Them. Let it be made out, That the Present *Solicitors* for *Tender Consciences*, are duly *Authorized*, and *Commission'd* to Act as the *Trustees* of the *Respective Parties*. Do This; and Matters may be brought yet to a *Comfortable Issue*: But so long as you place the *Conditions* of your *Indulgence* out of the *Reach* of *Ordinary Proof*, and indeed, of *Humane Knowledge*, Every Man that is *Excluded*, shall dispute his *Title* to the *Comprehension*, without any Possibility of being *Confuted*? to the *Scandal* of *Religion*, and to the *Perpetual Trouble*, Both of *King*, and *People*.

N. C. To set forth the *Propounded Latitude*, in the *Particular Limits* thereof, were *Presumptuous*, both in *Reference* to *Superiors*, and to the *Party Concerned* in it.

C. As if it were not a greater *Presumption*, to *Alienate* the *Affections* of the *People* from their *Superiors*, by Reflecting upon the *Iniquity* of the *Government*, then by the *Tender* of some *Rational Medium* of *Accord*, to Dispose the *Hearts* of *Superiors* to a *Compliance* with the *Prayers*, and *Necessities* of the *People*. But there is more in these *Generalities*, and *Reserves* then the *Multitude* are well aware of; and I am afraid, it will be as hard a matter, to bring you to an *Agreement* about the *Particular Parties* to be *Tolerated*, as about the *Model* it self.

SECT. XI.

The Non-Conformists demand a Toleration for no body knows WHOM, or WHAT.

C. **T**HE Non-Conformists are the Party that desire a Toleration; Pray let me ask ye, What are their Opinions? What are their Names? For, I presume, you will not expect a Toleration, for No Body knows What, or Whom. Are they all of a Mind? If They were Tolerated Themselves, Would they Tolerate One Another? Are They come to any Resolution upon Articles? Are They agreed upon any Model of Accommodation? Do They know What They would be At? Or is it in the Wit of Man, to Contrive a Common Expedient to Oblige them?

N. C. *There's no Body says, that they are All of a Mind; Or that it is Possible to please them all; Or Reasonable to Endeavour it. There are Divers among them, whose Principles will never endure any Order either in Church, or State. But what is the Sober Part the Worse for these Extravagants? Those I mean, who are ready to Justifie themselves; even according to the Strictness of your own Measures.*

C. If You are for such a Toleration, as shall Exclude the Wild, and Ungovernable Sects of Dissenters; How comes it, that, in Your Writings, and Argumentations, You still plead the General Cause of Non-Conformists, without any Exception, or Distinction?

N. C. *You are not to fasten a Charge of this Quality upon Us; that have already submitted Our selves, not only to the Moderation of a Limited Indulgence, but to your own Conditions also, under that very Limitation.*

C. This you have done, I must confess, in General Terms; But still I say; as to Particulars, Your Discourses are of such a Frame and Biass, as to give Credit, and Encouragement, to Every Sect of the Whole Party.

Disc. of
Relig. Par
2. P. 41.

N. C. I am of a Perswasion but not of a Party: and whatsoever my Perswasion be, it is Moderate, Catholick, and Pacifick,

C. An

C. And so is every Man's, if his own Word may be taken for his own Perswasion. But why are ye so *Nice*, and *Cautious*, in the owning of a *Particular Way*, and *Profession*; and yet so *Frank*, and *Open*, in a *Clamor*, for the *Whole Party*? You Complain that you are persecuted and yet *Obstruct* the Means of your own *Relief*. Some, Ye say, are to be *Indulged*; Others, *Not*. How shall *Authority Distinguish* of Which Number You your selves are; so long as you remain under this *Concealment*? Are You for the *Presbyterians*?

N. C. I am not ashamed of their Company, that are Commonly called *Disc. of* by That Name: Yes I have no Pleasure in such Names of *Distinction*. *Relig. part 2.* Neither my *Design*, nor my *Principles*, engage me to maintain the *Presbyterial Government*. *P. 46.*

C. Are You Independent then?

N. C. Neither. But yes I am (as I told you) for *Tolerating* Those *Disc. of* of *Sound Faith*, and *Good Life*, That have taken up some *Principles* *Relig. part 2.* of *Church Government* less *Congruous* to *National Settlement*. *P. 38.*

C. What Do you think of the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Quakers*, &c?

N. C. Why truly, So it is, That *Prudent*, and *Pious Men* may be *Ibid.* of *Exceeding Narrow Principles*, about *Church-Order*, and *Fellowship*: Toward Whom, *Christian Charity* pleadeth for *Indulgence*; and, We *hope*, *Political Prudence* doth not gainsay it.

C. So that you are *For All Parties*, but not *OF Any*. Which *Generality* gives to Understand, that your *Business* is rather a *Confederacy*, then a *Scruple*.

N. C. Make That Good if you can.

SECT. XII.

The *Conjunct Importunity* of the *Non-Conformists* for a *Toleration*, is not grounded upon *Matter of Conscience*.

N. C. You are the first Person certainly that ever undertook to make *Proof of a Conscience*.

C. And yet Our Saviour tells Us, (in This very Case of Hypocrisie) the Tree may be known by its Fruits : But however : the best way of Proving a Thing Feasible, is the Doing of it.

The Non-Conformists refuse Communication with the Church : What is it They boggle at ?

- (a) Disc. of Relig. Par. 2. N.C. (a) They do esteem the Ceremonies an Excess in the Worship of God. Pag. 31. (b) [And Dissent from the Present Establishment of Religion, only in things relating to Outward Order, and Worship. Pa. 12. (c) About the Choice of some Peculiar Ways of Worship. Pa. 12. (d) But as to the English Reformation, Established by Law, They heartily Embrace it, and Assent to the Doctrine of Faith contained in the Articles of the Church of England. Pa. 22. (e) They have no New Faith to Declare : No New Doctrine to Teach ; No Private Opinions to Divulge ; No Point, or Truth to Profess, which hath not been Declared, Taught, Divulged, and Esteem'd, as the Common Doctrine of the Church of England, ever since the Reformation. Pa. 11. (f) They come up to a Full Agreement, in all Material Things, with Them, from whom they Dissent. Pa. 30.
- (a) Indulg. & Toler. of Relig. par. 1. (e) Peace-Offering.

C. If They Agree in all Material Things, it follows, that they Divide about Matters Inconsiderable : and Break the Order, Peace, and Unity of the Church for Trifles. (Things Indifferent, and relating to Outward Order, and Worship.)

N.C. In Prescribed Forms and Rites of Religion, The Conscience will interpose, and concern it self ; and cannot resign it self to the Dictates of Men, in the Points of Divine Worship. And Those Injunctions, which to the Imposers, are Indifferent ; in the Consciences of the Dissenters, are Unlawful. And What Humane Authority can warrant any One to put in Practice, an Unlawful, or Suspected Action ? Pa. 26.

Disc. of Relig. par. 3.

C. If This be really Conscience ; You will be found as Cautious in venturing, deliberately, upon a Suspected Action, in all other Cases, as you are in This. But what if it shall appear, that This Fit of Tenderness only takes you, when you are to pay an Obedience to the Law ; and that you are as Bold as Lions, when you come to oppose it ? Will you not allow us to think it possible, that there may be somewhat more, in the Importunities, and Pretences of the Non-Conformists, than Matter of CONSCIENCE ?

'Tis a Suspected Action to Kneel at the Sacrament ; but None, to hold

hold up your *Hands* at the *Covenant*. You make a *Conscience* of disclaiming the *Obligation* of *That Covenant*, in Order to the *Security* of the *Government*: But None at all, of *Leagu*ing your selves in a *Conspiracy*, for the *Subversion* of it. Where was your *Tenderness*, in *Suspected Cases*, when, to *Encourage Rapine, Sacrilege, and Rebellion*, was the *Common Business* of your *Counsels*, and *Pulpits*? When it was *safer* to *Deny* the *Trinity*, then to *Refuse* the *Covenant*. When the *same Persons*, that started at a *Ceremony*, made no *Scruple* at all, of *Engaging* the *Kingdom* in *Blood*; and laying *Violent Hands* upon their *Sovereign*. Is not *This*, *Straining at a Gnat and swallowing a Camel*?

N. C. The Non-Conformists, I know, are charged with Principles, *Disc. of*
that detract from *Kingly Power*; and Tend to advance *Popular Faction*. *Relig.*
It is True, They have been Eager Asserters of *Legal Liberties*. *Par. 1.* *Page*
40. But These are Things gone and Past, and Nothing to our *Present*
purpose. The *Wise Man* says, He that repeateth a *Matter*, sepa-
rateth very *Friends*. A looking back to former *Discords*, mars the *Ibid.*
most hopeful Redintegration. *Acts of Indemnity, are Acts of Oblivion*
also, and must be so observed. *Pa. 41.*

E. The Non-Conformists (The Sole Actors in the late War) were only *Eager Assertors* (it seems) of *Legal Liberties*. You do not deal so *Gingerly* with the *Bishops*, in the *Point of Ceremonies*, as to let them come off, with a *Character of Eager Assertors of Legal Authorities*. So that herein also, *Your Consciences stumble at Straws, and leap over Blocks*.

Now, Whereas You will have it, that a *Reflection upon former Discords*, is a *Violation of the Act of Indemnity*, and *Impertinent to Our Purpose*: My Answer is; *First*, That I do not revive the *Memory of former Discords* as a *Reproach*; But I make use of some *Instances out of former Passages*, to make *Good my Assertion*: That *Your Conjoint Importunity for a Toleration*, is not grounded upon *Conscience*. And to shew yon that your *Practises*, and *Professions* gain One upon Another, for *Conscience is all of a Piece*? Not *Tender*, and *Delicate* on the *One side*, and *Callous*, and *Unfeeling*, on the *Other*.

Secondly, Suppose We should make a little *Bold* with the *Act of Oblivion*: I think We have as much right to do it, as You have to fall foul upon the *Act of Uniformity*. Unless you conceive, that the *Mercy* you have received by *One Law*, gives You a *Privilege of Invading* all the rest. As to *Authority*; it is *One and the same in Both*; and if there were any place for *Complaint against the Equity of a Legal*

Legal Establishment, it would lie much Fairer against the Act of *Indemnity*, on the behalf of the *Royallists*, (that have ruined their Estates and Families in the Defence of the Law; and yet after all, are thereby condemned to sit down in Silence and Despair) Then against the Act of *Uniformity*, on the Behalf of the *Non-Conformists*; Who by the *One Law*, are secured in the Profits of their late *Disobedience*; And by the *Other*, are taken into the Arms of the Church, according to the *Ancient*, and *Common Rule*, with the Rest of His Majesties *Protestant Subjects*: The Same Rule, I say; saving where it is Moderated with *Abatements*, and *Allowances*, in Favour of *Pretended Scruples*.

Disc. of
Re sg.
par. 1.

N. C. Whereas you make the *Non-Conformists* the Sole Actors in our late Confusions, You run your self upon a great Mistake: For—it hath been manifested to the World, by such as Undertook to Justifie it, when Authority should require, [That the Year before the King's Death, A Select Number of Jesuits being sent from their whole Party in England, Consulted both the Faculty of Sorbonne, and the Pope's Council at Rome, touching the Lawfulness and Expediency, of Promoting the Change of Government, by making away the King, Whom They Despaired to turn from his Heresie: It was Debated, and Concluded, in Both Places, That for the Advancement of the Catholick Cause, it was Lawful, and Expedient to Carry on that alteration of State. This Determination was effectually pursued by many Jesuits, that came over, and Acted their Parts in several Disguises. Pa. 15.

Disc. of
Relig.
par. 1.

C. If This be True, and Proveable; (as You affirm it is) You cannot do the Protestant Cause a more important Service, then to make it out to the Parliament: Who (You know) have judg'd the Matter Worthy of their Search, and have appointed a Committee to receive Informations. Pa. 2. Nay, which is more, You are a Betrayer of the Cause if you do it not. The WHOLE PARTY in England, do you say? Prove out This, and you kill the whole Popish Party at a Blow.

This was the Year before the King's Death, it seems: Was not that within the Retrospect of the Act of *Indemnity*? If so, tell me I beseech you, Why may not We take the same Freedom with the *Non-Conformists*, that You do with the *Papists*.

N. C. We shall never have done, if you lash out thus upon *Disgressions*. Pray keep to the Question.

C. As close as you please. What if a Man should shew You a Considerable Number, of the Eminent, and Active *Instruments in the late War*, to be now in the Head of the present Outcry for Toleration? (Take This into your Supposition too, that *These very Persons* promoted Our Troubles, *This very Way*; and Proceeded from the Reformation of Discipline, to the Dissolution of Government) Are We bound in Charity to take all their Pretensions of Scruple for real Tenderness of Conscience?

N.C. Beyond all Question; Unless you can either Evidence their Error to be Unpardonable, or the Men Themselves, Impenitent.

C. Why then let *Ancestors* determine betwixt Us. [*Peccata illa, De Conscientia publice fuerunt nota, debent etiam Confessione publica damnari; quia ad quos malum ipsum Exempli Contagione pervenerat, ad eos etiam Penitentia ac Emendationis Documentum, fieri possit, debet transmitti.*] *3. cap. 154*
 PUBLIQUE SINS require PUBLIQUE CONFESSION; To the End, that as many as were misled by the Example, may be set right again by the Retraction, and Repentance. This Conclusion pronounces all Those of the old stamp, that abused the People formerly, under Colour of Conscience, and are now at Work again, upon the same Pretext, without a Publique Recantation, to be in a State of Impenitency: and gives Us reasonably to presume, that if their Consciences can Swallow, and Digest a Rebellion, there is no great Danger of their being Choak'd with a Ceremony.

Another Thing is This; You do not plead for Particular Judgments; (In which Case, a plea of Conscience may be allow'd) But every Man urges the Equity (in Effect) of a Toleration for all the Rest. In which Number, You your selves do, severally, and joynly, acknowledge, that there are a great many People of Insociable and Intolerable Principles; such as in Conscience are not to be admitted. And yet herein also, You profess to be guided by Impulses of Tenderness, and Piety; although in Opposition to the whole Course of your former Declarations, and Proceedings, that rise up in Judgment against You.

N.C. If you grant, that there may be a Plea for Particulars, I shall not much trouble my self about Generals.

That Point shall come on in due time. But let us look a little further yet, into the General Cause; for if it be not Conscience, it is Confederacy.

SECT.

The Conjoint Impunity of the Non-Conformists for a Toleration, is a manifest Confederacy.

C. **T**His appears, *First*, from the *Method* of their Proceedings; *Secondly*, from the *Natural Prospect*, and *Tendency* of that *Method*; *Thirdly*, from the *Nature*, and *Quality* of their *Demands* and *Arguments*; *Fourthly*; from the *Way*, and *Manner* of their *Addresses*, and *Applications*; *Lastly*; from their *Agreement* in *Matters* of *Dangerous Consequence* upon the *Peace* of the *Government*.

As to their *Method*; The *Non-Conformists* of *This Age* tread in the very steps of their *Predecessors*: and This you may observe throughout the whole *History* of Them; even from the first time that ever the Pretence of Popular Reformation set foot in his *Majesties* Dominions, unto This Instant. This is not a Place for a Deduction of Particulars at length; But a Touch from Point to Point, will not be much amiss. Wherefore, if you please, Give me a Brief Accompt of the *Non-Conformists*. First, *What kind of People they are*; Secondly, *What It is They would have*; Thirdly, *What will the Kingdom be the better for Granting their Desires*? Fourthly, *What are their Grievances*, as the Case stands with them at present? Fifthly, *What are they for Number, and Resolution*?

Disc. of
Relig.
par. 1.
Indulg.
& Toler.
p. 7.

N. C. They are a *People Zealous of Religion*, Pa. 43. *An Intelligent, Sober sort of Men*, and *Numerous among all Ranks*, P. 25. *Peaceable, and Useful in the Commonwealth*; *Sound in the Faith*; *Men of Conscience*; *Evident Opposers of all Errors Pernicious to the Souls of Men* and of an *Evil Aspect upon the Publique Peace*.

Spotswoods
Hist. of
Scotland,
p. 320, 322

C. Very Good: And were not the Conspirators that Seiz'd King James, at Rushen, (1582.) as much as all This amounts to? If You will believe either *Themselves*, or the *Assembly at Edinburgh* in their behalf.

Petition to
the Queen.
p. 15.
Gilby.
King's

• The Reforming *Non-Conformists* under Queen Elizabeth were Unreprovable before all Men; Her *Majesties* most *Loyal Subjects*, and *God's Faithfull Servants*: [*Most Worthy, Faithful, and Painful Ministers*; *Modest, Watchful, Knowing in the Scriptures, and of Honest Conversation*; (*Learned, and Godly*; says the *Admonitioner*, Pa. 25. And *Martin Senior* calls them, *The Strength of Our Land*, and the *Sinew of her Majesties Government*.

The

The Scotch Covenanters, in 1638. outdid All This, for Zeal to his Kings Majesties Person and Authority: The True Religion, Liberties, and Laws of the Kingdom. Large Declaration. p. 66.

And the Two Houses at Westminster, In 1642. come not behind Them, in their Professions, for the Defence, and Maintenance of the True Religion; The King's Person, Honour, and Estate, and the Just Rights, and Liberties of the Subject. Ex. Coll. p. 498.

Here's Your Character: Now to Your Demands, What is it you would have?

N. C. (a) A Reformation of Church-Government, Liturgy, and Ceremonies. (b) A bearing with weak Consciences: (c) and A Relaxation of the Prescribed Uniformity. (a) Two Papers of Proposals, p. 5. (b) Petition for peace, p. 10. (c) Disc. of Relig. Preface. Ex. Coll. p. 19.

C. And This you will find to have been the constant Pretence of the Non-Conformists, if you Consult their Story, from One End to the Other. [Not to let loose the Golden Reins of Discipline, and Government in the Church; But to Unburthen the Consciences of Men, of Needless, and Superstitious Ceremonies, Suppress Innovations, and Settle a Preaching Ministry, &c.

Put the Case now, that you had your Asking; What would the Kingdom be the better for it?

N. C. It will be the better for the King, Church, Nobility, and Gentry. [And there is no Nation under Heaven, wherein such an Indulgence, or Toleration as is desired, would be more Welcome, Useful, Acceptable; Or more Subservient to Tranquillity, Trade, Wealth, and Peace. Disc. of Relig. Indulg. & Toler. p. 31.

C. Reformation no Enemy to Her Majesty and the State, is the very Title of a Desperate Libel, Printed 1590. against Both. And the Humble Motioner tells You, that it is for the Advantage of the Queen, Clergy, Nobility, and Commonalty; That the Wealth, and Honour of the Realm will be Increased by it, &c.

This was the Stile too of Our Reformers, in 1642. The Securing of the Publique Peace, Safety and Happiness of the Realm; And the Laying the Foundation, of more Honour, and Happiness, to his Majesty, then ever was Enjoy'd by any of his Royal Predecessors.—Now speak your Grievances. Ex. Coll. p. 3. Ibid. 21.

N. C. We are Excommunicated, Outlawed, Imprison'd. Our Families Starved, and Begger'd. P. 8. Proceeded against with Ourward Punishments,

influence, Pecuniary, and Corporal; May Death itself, P. 9. [And all this while Trade languishes, Rents fall, Money scarce, P. 26. Never a greater Separation; Never a more General Dissatisfaction. P. 27.

Sponsored Hist. Scot. P. 327. Pray's say: Was it ever better, since Non-Conformists came into the World? Was not King James a Favourer of the Enemies of God's Truth, and of Dissolute Persons? A Discountenancer of Godly Ministers? A Promise-Breaker to the Church; and a Perverter of the Laws; Inasmuch that No man could be assured of his Lands, and Life?

Was it any better even under the Celebrated Government of Q. Elizabeth? (a) There were Citations, Degradings, and Deprivations. (b) Some in the Marshalsey; Some in the White-Lion; Some in the Gatehouse at Westminster; Others in the Cumber, Or in the Clink, Or in Birde-well, Or in Newgate. [How many Good Mens Deaths have the Bishops been the Cause of? How many have they driven to leave the Ministry, and live by Physick? Or to leave their Country? [Poor Men have been miserably handled, with Revilings, Deprivations, Imprisonments, Banishments: and Out of This Realm, they have all the best Reformed Churches through Christendom against them. [If This Persecution be not provided for, great Trouble will come of it.

Admonit. P. 37. Ibid. P. 15. First Admonit. P. 1. Second Admonit. P. 59.

How your Party demean'd Themselves toward the Late King, of Blessed Memory, in the matter of Calumny, and Reproach, You may read at large in that Grand, and Infamous Libel; The Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, Decemb. 15. 1642.

But after all This, What are these People, for Number, and Resolution, that make such a Clutter?

Indulg. & Toler. Pag. 21. N. C. Thousands of the Upright of the Land. [Petition for Peace, Whatever they suffer for it. Pa. 20. And to forego the Utmost of their Earthly Concernments, rather then to Live and Die in an Open Rebellion to the Commanding Light of God in their Consciences.—To Ruine Men in their Substantials of BODY, and LIFE, for Ceremonies; is a Severity, which ENGLISHMEN will not, long time, by any means, give Countenance unto, Pa. 29. [To Execute Extremity upon an Intelligent, Sober, and Peaceable Sort of Men, so Numerous among all Ranks, may prove Exceeding Difficult, unless it be Executed by such Instruments as may strike Terror into the whole Nation. P. 25.

Dik. of Rel. par. 1.

C. Was not Queen Elizabeth told of Thousands, and Hundred of Thousands, that sigh'd for the Holy Discipline? And that since neither Parliament, nor Convocation-house would take it into Consideration, They

Toleration Discuss'd.

§ 1

They might blame *Themselves*, if it came in by such means, as would make all their Hearts Ake? The Truth will prevail (says the Demon-
strator) in spite of your Teeth, and all the Adversaries of it.

The most Ununanimous, Causeless, and Horrible Rebellion, that This or (perhaps) any other Age in the World hath been acquainted with (To borrow the Words of his Late Majesty) was Prefaced with a Petition in the Name of all the Men, Women, Children, and Servants of Edinburgh, against the Service-Book: And Another, in the Name of the Noblemen, Gentry, Ministers, and Burgeesses, against the Service-Book, and Book of Canons; Protecting afterwards, that if any Inconvenience should fall out, by reason of Pressing these Innovations, it was not to be Imputed to Them, that sought all Things to be Reformed by Order.

Large Declaration, p. 53.

Ibid. p. 41.
Ibid. p. 52.

This Commotion in Scotland, led the Way to Our succeeding Broils in England; Which were promoted by the like Artifices. Great Numbers of his Majesties Subjects, Opprest by Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings; and Many Thoulands of Tradesmen, and Artificers, Empoverish'd by a Generality, and Multiplicity of Vexations. [Great Numbers of Learned, and Pious Ministers Suspended, Deprived, and Degraded. In fine, from Pamphlets, they advanced to Petitions; from Petitions, to Tumults; and from thence, into a Formal State of War.

Ex. Coll. p. 8

Ibid. p. 9.

N. C. So that from This Agreement in Method, You will Pretend to Infer a Conformity of Design.

C. From This Agreement in Method; and from the Natural Tendency of this Method, I think a Man may honestly Conclude, it can be Nothing else: and I doubt not, but upon a Sober Examination of the Matter, I shall find You of the same Opinion.

The most Sacred of all Bands is That of Government, next to That of Religion; and the Reverence which we owe to Humane Authority, is Only Inferior to That which we owe to God Himself. This being duly weighed, and that the Lesser Obligation must give place to the Greater. (As for Instance) Reason of State,* to Matter of Religion, and Humane Laws to the Law Divine: What has any Man more to do, for the Embroyling of a Nation, but first to Puzzle the Peoples Heads with Doubts, and Scruples, about their Respective Duties to God, and Man; and then, to Possess them, that This, or That Political Constitution, has no Foundation in the Holy Scriptures? To bid Them stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made them Free, Galat. 5. 1. And Finally, to Engage the Name of God, and the Credit of Religion in the Quarrel?

N. C. *And do not you your self believe it better to Obey God, then Man?*

C. Yes; but I think it best of all to Obey Both: To Obey God, for Himself, in Spirituals; and Man, for God's sake, in Temporals, as he is God's Commissioner. But tell me; Are you not Convinced, that the most likely way in the World to stir up Subjects against their Prince, is To Proclaim the Iniquity of his Laws, and then to Preach Damnation upon Obedience?

N. C. *What if it be? Does it follow, because Religion maybe made a Cloak for a Rebellion, That therefore It is never to be Pleaded for a Reformation.*

C. Truly I have seldom known a Conscientious Reformation, accompanied with the Circumstances of Our Case. Here is, first, a Character of the Non-Conformists, drawn by their own Hand; and set off with such Flourishes of Purity, and Perfection, as if the Scribes and Pharisees Themselves had sit for their Picture. In the Second Place, You demand, partly, a Reformation; partly, a Toleration: And in the Third, You assure Us, that all England shall be the better for't. (Of These Two Points hereafter.) In the Fourth, You enlarge upon your Grievances; and instead of applying to the Government, on the behalf of the People, You are clearly upon the Strein of Appeal to the People from the Rigour of the Government. Your Text is Liberty of Conscience; But the Stress of your Discourse lies upon the Liberty of the Subject: The Decay of Trade, Scarcity of Money, Fall of Rents, The Substantial of BODY, and LIFE, Imprisonment &c. Upon the Whole; Your Writings want nothing but Form of a Direct Indictment of King and Parliament for Persecution, and Tyranny; And would very well bear the Translation of their being led on by the Instigation of the Devil, not having the Fear of the Lord before their Eyes. If You can defend this manner of Proceeding, pray do it.

Disc. of
Relig.

N. C. *What can be of greater Concernment to Government, then to Discern and Consider the State of their People, as it is indeed? And Why may it not be Mindcd of Subjects, and Spoken of, without any Hint, or Thought of Rebellion? Pag. 27.*

C. But What can be of greater Mischief to Governours, then under

der Colour of Remonstrating to Them the State of their People, at the Same time, to dissuade the People, by an Odious Account of the Errors, Misfortunes, and Calamities of the Government? Governors are not to be told their Faults in the Market-Place; Neither are Ministers of the Gospel, by your own Rules, to be admitted for Privy Counsellors. This is spoken as to the Good Office of your Information.

As to the Intention of it, I am not so bold, as to judge your Thoughts; But if You had any Drift at all in it, and Consider'd what You did, I do not see how You can acquit your self of Evil meaning. Suppose the Whole Invective True; and that you suffer for Righteousness, (to make the Fairest of it) What Effect do you expect these Discourses may have upon the People? and what upon the Magistrate? Will not every Man conclude, that the English are the Wretched Slaves upon the Face of the Earth? Neither Liberty of Religion, nor of Person, for any Man that makes a Conscience of his ways, The Whole Nation, Groaning under Beggery, and Bondage. Now see what Effects these Impressions may reasonably produce; and Those Effects are as reasonably to be taken for the Scope of your Intention.

Turn now to the Magistrate, and say; What Proportion do you find betwixt these Rude Disobligations upon the Government, and the Returns of Grace, and Favour You desire so Earnestly from it? On the Other side; if your Report be False, Your Design appears still to be the same; Only with the Aggravations, of more Animosity, and Malice in Pursuance of it. But True, or False, it is Nothing at all to the Business of Toleration, but a Palpable Transition from matter of Conscience, to matter of State.

This is the Course, in General, of Our Advocates for Toleration; and by the Desperate Sallies, they make, from Religion, to Government, in their Pamphlets, a Man may guess what it is they would be at in their Pulpits.

N.C. Oppression makes a Wise man mad; and 'tis not Generous to Descant upon every thing, that is bolted in Heat, and Passion, as if it were a formed Discourse, upon Deliberation, and Counsel.

C. But it is a strange thing (my Good Friend) for so many Men to be Mad at a Time; and to be Mad the same Way too? If you will have it, that they mean just Nothing at all, I am content; But if they mean any thing, and all agree in the same Meaning; It can be nothing else but a Confederacy.

The next Point makes it more Evident; that is to say, The Marshalling.

Marshalling of their Numbers; and their *Thousands*; The Boast of their *Interest*; in all Parties, and of the *Difficulty* to Suppress them: The Proclamation of their Resolution to Live and Die in the defence of their *Opinions*, with an *Intuendo*, of the *Magistrates* Meddling with them at their *Peril*. What can be the End of this *Rhodomontade*; but to startle the Government, on the One Side, and to animate the *Multitude*, on the Other? It is no Argument at all for an *Indulgence*, that they are *Merry*, *Powerful*, and *Resolute*; But point blank against it: Unless they can approve themselves to be *Regular*, *Governable*, and *Honest*. To Sum up all; Here are *Faults* found in the Government; and the People Tamper'd into a *Dislike* of it; So that here's a *Disposition* to a Change, wrought already.

No sooner is the *Multitude* perswaded of the *Necessity* of a Reformation; but behold the *Manner* of it; It must be either by a *Thorough Alteration*, a *Comprehension*, a *Toleration*, or a *Connivance*. And for the Principal Undertakers, You may put your Lives in their Hands; for (if they do not slander Themselves) They are as *Godly*, an *Intelligent Sort* of People, as a Man shall see in a Summers Day. Now, for the Introducing of This Reformation, there is no way, but to set up the Word of God, against the Law of the Land: By the *Un-Bishop* ping of Timothy, and Titus; and giving the People a Sight of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and Gamaliel's Dilemma, through a Pair of Reforming Spectacles; By which they discover the *Divine Right* of Presbytery, with One Eye; and That of *Universal Toleration* with the Other; and so become One in the *Common Cause* of Maintaining Gospel Worship, against *Humane Inventions*.

The next Care is, to Gratifie the *Common People*; for there's nothing to be done, till they come; and there is no Reason in the World, that the poor Wretches should venture Soul, Life, and Estate, *Gratis*! This is Effected, by the Doctrine of *Liberty of Conscience*. For Grant but every Man a *Right*, of *Acting*, according to the Dictate of his *Conscience*, and he has Consequently a *Liberty* of Doing Whatsoever he shall pretend to be according to That Dictate; And of Refusing to do, whatsoever he shall say is against it: By which Invention, the *Laws* of the Kingdom are subjected to the Pretended *Consciences* of the People; and the *Multitude* are made Judges of the Controversy.

Now comes in the *Joynt Struggle* of the *Non-Conformists* for a *Toleration*. This, if it may be obtain'd, puts them in a Capacity of doing the *Rest*, Themselves. But in Case of *Opposition*, Their last Resort is to a *Muster* of their Forces; A *Computation* of their Strength, and

and Interests; Which is the Very same Thing, as if they should say, in so many Syllables; *Gentlemen; You see the Parliament does not Regard Us: We have a Good Cause, and Hands enow to do the Work, in spite of their Hearts: UP AND BE DOING.* After This; There wants Nothing, but the Word, *The Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon,* To Crown the Eulogize. If This be not a Conspiracy tell me *What Is.*

N.C. You say, *It is,* and We deny it.

C. There are strong Presumptions also of a *Confederacy*, to be gathered from the *Nature*, and *Quality* of your *Demands*. You desire a *Comprehension*, a *Toleration*; But then you place the *Conditions* of it, out of the Reach of *Ordinary Proof*, and indeed, of *Human Cognizance*, (as is shew'd already) So that No Body knows, who are to be *Comprehended*, and who *left out*: This looks, as if your *Business* were rather to *enflame* the Difference, then to *compose* it. And then, when you are press'd to *Name*, and *Specify* the *Parties* you plead for; (since by your own Confession, several are to be *Excluded*) You fly still to the *Generalities*, of *Important Interests*, and *Congruous Principles*, and so leave the Matter utterly uncabable of any *Clear*, and *Logical Result*; Unless you will allow *Governours* the *Inspection* of their *Subjects Hearts*: Or Teach us how to *Reduce wild*, and *Uncertain Notions*, under the Prospect of a *Steady Law*. But the Reason of your Dealing thus in the dark, I suppose may be This: Your *Design* is to be carry'd on under the *Countenance* of the *Common Cause*, wherein, all those Persons are *United* against the *Government*, that would otherwise spend their *Animosities*, One upon Another, and break into a thousand Pieces among Themselves. Now for you to declare for any *One Party*, were *Virtually*, to declare against all the Rest; and Dissolve the *Combination*.

Touching the *Manner* of their *Addresses*, I shall only add, (to what is past) that they are *Inveltives*, against those that cannot relieve them, without any *Formal Application* to those that can: And tend Naturally to the *Tumultuating* of the *People*, without any Colour of *Contribution* to their *Benefit*.

Of their *Agreement* in Matters of *Dangerous Consequence*, enough is spoken already, to put it past all contradiction, That Their *Conjunct Importunity* for a *Toleration*, is a *Manifest CONFEDERACT*. Wherefore let us now proceed from the *Drift*, and *Design* of their *Pretensions*, to the *Morality*, and *Reason* of Them.

SECT.

The Non-Conformists Joynt Pretences FOR A Toleration over-
thrown, by the Evidence of their Joynt Arguments, Professions,
and Practices Against it.

C. **D**O as you would be done by, is the Precept, both of Gospel, and Nature. With what face then, can you ask a Toleration from That Government, which of all Others, your selves refused to Tolerate? From That Prince, to whose Blessed Father (in the Depth of his Agonies) you cruelly deny'd the Use, and Service of his own Chaplains? [A greater Rigour, and Barbarity, then is ever used by Christians to the Meanest Prisoners, and Greatest Malefactors. But They that Envy my being a King are loth I should be a Christian! While they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my Soul.] These are the Words of that Pious Prince in his last Extremity.

N.C. That Rigour was the Barbarism of a Faction, Not the Principles of the Party.

WIK. BAS
P. 107.

London
Ministers
Letter to
the Affem-
bly, Jan. 1
1645.
Harmony
of the Lan-
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nisters. p.
12.
Mr. Fair-
clough on
John. 7. 25.
Ruther-
fords Free
Disp. p.
360.
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1645.
Siouhouse
to the Af-
sembly,
1645.

C. Hear your Party speak then. [It is much, that our Brethren should separate from the Church; but that they should endeavour to get a Warrant, to Authorize their Separation from it, and to have Liberty (by Admembers out of it) to weaken, and diminish it, till, (so far as lies in them) they have brought it to Nothing; This we think to be plainly Unlawful.

Toleration would be the Putting the Sword in a Madman's hand; A Proclaiming Liberty to the Wolves, to come into Christ's Flock to Prey upon his Lambs.

Extirpate all Achans, with Babilonish Garments, Orders, Ceremonies, Gestures; Let them be rooted out from among Us. You of the Honourable House, Up; for the Matter belongs to You. We even All the Godly Ministers of the Country will be with you.

Toleration makes the Scripture a Nose of Wax: A Rule of Faith to all Religions.

Liberty of Conscience, and Toleration of all, or any Religion, is so Prodigious an Impiety, that this Religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very Naming of it.

Such a Toleration is utterly repugnant to, and Inconsistent with the Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation.

It is unreasonable (says the Defender of the London Ministers Letter to the Assembly) that Independents should desire That Toleration of Presbyters, which they would not give to Presbyters. For with what face can I desire a Courtessie from Him, to whom I do openly profess, I would deny the same Courtessie? Does not this hold as well for Us, as it did for You?

N. C. *You must not Impose the Judgments of Particular Persons upon Us, as Instances of Publique Authority.*

C. *What do ye think then of your National Covenant? Was That an Act of Authority? Wherein you bind Your selves by an Oath, to settle an Uniform Presbytery to the Exclusion of all other Forms of Church-Order, or Government whatsoever; (under the Notion of Schism) and of Prelacy by Name? Are your Consciences FOR Toleration Now, that were so much Against it Then? Nay, there are many among you, that reckon your selves under an Obligation, to pursue the Ends of that Covenant, even to this very Day: And do you think it Reasonable, for a Government to grant Priviledges, and Advantages of Power, and Credit, to a Party, that owns it self under an Oath of Confederacy to endeavour the Extirpation of it?*

N. C. *You mean I suppose of Church-Government.*

C. *I mean of Both Church, and State. Was it not the Test of the King's Enemies, as well as of the Bishops? Was it not made Death without Mercy, for any Man, having taken the Solemn League and Covenant, to adhere to his Majesty? The League and Covenant (says The Kirks testimony against toleration p. 10.) was the first Foundation of the Ruine of the Malignant Party in England. And whoever refuses to Disclaim it, must be rationally understood, still to Drive on the Intent of it. So that to Tolerate the Non-Conformists, is to Tolerate the Sworn Adversaries, both of Royal, and Episcopal Authority: Nay, to Tolerate Those that have Sworn to persist in that Opposition, all the Days of their Lives; Over and above the Tolerating of those upon Pretence of Conscience FOR a Toleration, that deny to Tolerate all other People, upon as strong a Pretence of Conscience AGAINST it.*

Where was This Spirit of Moderation toward the weak Brethren in the Total Suppression of the Book of Common-Prayer; and the Imposing of the Directory, to be Observed in all the Churches within This Kingdom? [No Ruling Elders, but such as have taken the National

Acts and Ordinances, par. 1. p. 97. Ibid 165.

Covenant.

Ibid. 771. *Covenant.* No *Elders* of *Elders* neither, (by the Ordinance of *March 14. 1645.*) but such as have taken the *National Covenant*. [No Ordination, without a *Testimonial* of having taken the *Covenant* of the *Three Kingdoms*. None to be Admitted, or Entered in the *Universities*, without taking the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and the *Negative Oath*; and Upon Conditions of *Submission*, and Conformity to the *Discipline*, and *Directory*.

P. 30. 31. Nay further: You will find in the *Four Bills*, and *Propositions* sent to his Majesty in the *Isle of Wight*, (*March 1647.*) when the Two Parties, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent* were upon so hard a Tug; That the *Presbyterian Government*, and *Directory* seem'd to be resolv'd upon in one Line, and unsettled again, in the very next. By a Provision: That no Persons whatsoever should be liable to any Question, or Penalty, for Non-Conformity to the Form of Government, and Divine Service appointed in the Ordinances (then in Force;) but be at Liberty to Meet for the worship of God; so as nothing might be done to the disturbance of the Peace of the Kingdom. Yet in This Crisis of Affairs; they could clap in another stabbing Proviso against Us, upon the neck of That; i.e. that this Indulgence shall not extend to Tolerate the Use of the Book of Common-Prayer, in any Place whatsoever. And at this rate, you treated the *Episcopal Party*, throughout the whole Course of your Power.

N. C. And good cause for it; were not they the most likely of all others to disappoint our Settlement?

C. Agreed. But as to the matter of Conscience; Did you well, or ill in't; Or rather, was there any thing of Conscience in the Case?

N. C. Certainly it was very fit for the Civil Power to look to it self; And the Power Ecclesiastical was no less concern'd to exact a Conformity to the Laws, and Ordinances of Christ.

C. How can you say This, and consider what you say, without blushing? If you did well, in Refusing to Tolerate the *Episcopal way*, because you thought it not Right; the Reason is as strong for Our way, that have the same Opinion of Yours. If you did well on the Other side, out of a Political Regard to the *Publique Peace*, so do now, upon That very score. So that you must either confess, that You did ill, Then, in Refusing a Toleration to Us; or otherwise allow, that Authority does well, Now, in not permitting it to You.

N. C. There might be some Plea for a little Strictness more then ord-

nary, in the Heat of on Eager, and Publick Contention: But methinks a Persecution in Cold Blood, does not savour of the Spirit of our Profession.

SECT. XV.

The Non-Conformists Joynt-Complaints of Hard Measure, and Persecution, confronted with their own Joynt-Proceedings.

C. **W**hat is it that you call *Hard Measure*, and *Persecution*?

N. C. Your Unmercifull Impositions, upon Tender Consciences, by Subscriptions, Declarations, &c. There are few Nations under the Heavens of God (as far as I can learn) that have more *Able*, for peace. *Holy, Faithfull, Laborious, and Truly Peaceable* Preachers of the Gospel, (Proportionably) then Those that are now cast out in England, and are like in England, Scotland, and Ireland to be cast out, if the Old Conformity be still urged. [Ours is not a wicked, Prophane, Drunken Ministry.] P. 41661. M. Calamy of the Ark p. 21.

C. That is, by Interpretation: *God we thank Thee, that we are not as other Men are.*—Nor even as these Publicans. But to the Matter.

These People that you speak of, are set aside for not Obeying the Law: But What do you think of those, that were turn'd out of their Livings, because they would not Oppose it? And they were dispossess'd too, by some of the present Complainants themselves: Who first came in at the window, and now are turn'd out at the Door. No less than a Hundred and fifteen were Ejected here in London, within the Bills of Mortality (besides Paul's and Westminster) And the rest of the Kingdom throughout, was purged after that Proportion. Nor was it thought enough to Sequester, unless they starv'd them too; for they were not allow'd to take the Employment, either of School-Masters, or Chaplains, but under heavy Penalties. In South Wales, the Gospel was as well Persecuted, as the Ministry: the Churches shut up, and the People let loose to the Lusts and Corruptions of Unbridled Nature. The Only Pretence of Justification that the Reformers had, was that Unchristian, and unchristly Libel, **WHITE'S GENTURIES** of Scandalous Ministers; wherein, without any Respect, either to Truth, or Modesty, They have Exposed so many Reverend Names, to Infamy, and Dishonour, for the better Colour of their own Sacrilegious Usurpations. But take This along with you, that

Loyalty in those Days past for a Punishable, and Notorious Scandal.

N. C. *These were Acts of Policy, and let Statesmen answer for them. But to have Men cast out of the Church, because they will not Subscribe, and Declare, contrary to their Consciences, is doubtless a most Unconscionable Severity.*

And What is it in the *Subscription* (I beseech you) that you stumble at ? As to the Acknowledgment of *his Majesties Supremacy*, I suppose, you would not be thought to stick at That. And in Matters of *Doctrine*, you make Profession to joyn with us : So that about the *Lawfulness of using the Book of Common-Prayer, and your own Submission to the Use of it*, is the Only Question. Your Exceptions likewise to the *Declarations* seem to be very weakly grounded, unless you make a Scruple of Declaring your selves for the *Uniformity of the Church, Or for the Peace of the Civil Government* : In which Cases you cannot fairly pretend to be trusted in *Either*. But not to Extravagate. You are against the *Imposing of Subscriptions, and Declarations*, you say.

N. C. *I am against the very Imposition it self, upon any Terms : But when they are prest upon Grievous Penalties, they are utterly Intolerable.*

C. And yet when the *Common-Prayer* was abolish'd, there was a *PENALTY*, of Five Pound, for the first Offence ; Ten for the Second ; And a Years Imprisonment, without Bail or Mainprize, for the Third Offence, upon any man that should use it. So that Here was an Interdiction of *Our way of worship* upon a *PENALTY* ; and notice taken of Invading the *Liberty of Our Consciences*. By the same Ordinance, of August 23. 1645. was also commanded the Exercise and Order of the *Directory* ; and That upon a *FORFEITURE* too : with a *PENALTY*, from Five Pound to Fifty, upon any Man, that should Preach, Write, or Print any thing to the Derogation of it. Now Here was *Rigor*, yon see, on *Both Sides* : But no *Clamour*, upon the Matter of *Conscience* in this case neither.

How many of Our Ministers were Poyson'd in *Peter-House, And Other Prisons*, either for *worshipping according to their Consciences* ; or refusing to AG against Them ! No Man was admitted to his Composition without *SWEARING* ; No Man to live in the Parliaments Quarters without *SWEARING*.

Neither were We only debarr'd the *Common Rights of Subjects*, and

and the *Benefits of Society*: But the *Comforts of Religion* were denied Us; And an *Anathema* pronounced upon Us for Our *Fidelity*. The *General Assembly* in Scotland Ordain'd, that known *Compliers with the Rebels*, and such as *Procured Protections from the Enemy*; or kept *Correspondence*, or *Intelligence with Him* should be *Suspended from the Lord's Supper*, till they manifested their *Repentance before the Congregation*. [*Gillespy's Useful Cases of Conscience*, Pag. 19. 20.] His late Majesty, in his *Large Declaration of the Affairs of Scoll.* p. 199. tells you, That *Men were beaten, turn'd out of their Livings, Reviled, Excommunicated, Process'd, for NOT SUBSCRIBING the Covenant*. And again, Pa. 202. That *there was an Oath given at a Communion at Fife, nor to take the King's Covenant, nor any other, but their own*. Now, hear the *Commissioners of the General Assembly*, July 25. 1648. His Majesties *Concessions*, and *Officers from the Isle of Wight*, are to be by the *Parliament* declared *Unsatisfactory*; unless his Majesty give assurance by *SOLEMN Oath*, under his *Hand*, and *Seal*, for *Settling Religion according to the Covenant*; before his *Restitution to his Royal Power*.

But that I am loth to overcharge you, I could give you the *History of the Spiriting* several Persons of Honour for *Slaves*; the *Sale of three or fourscore Gentlemen to the Barbadoes*; beside *Plunders, Decimations*, and infinit other *Outrages*, both *Publique*, and *Private*. Give me leave to mind you now a little, of some few of Your *General Provisions* for the *Destruction of the King's Party*, and the *Extirpation of that Family*, and *Government* to which *Providence* has once again *Subjected* you.

(a) *An Ordinance for Sequestration of Delinquents Estates.* (b) *Delinquents Disabled to bear any Office, or have any Vote in Election of any Mayor, &c.* Here's *Estate*, and *Legal Freedom* gone already: Now follows *Banishment* from One Place, and *Confinement* to Another. (c) *Delinquents must be removed from London and Westminster, and confined within five Miles of their own Dwelling.* (d) *Correspondency with Charles Stuart, or his Party, prohibited, under Pain of High Treason*; and (e) *Death to any man, that shall attempt the revival of his claim, or that shall be aiding or assisting, comforting or abetting, unto any person endeavouring to set up the title of any of the Issue of the Late King.*

Where were the *Able, Holy, Faithful, Laborious, and Truly Peaceable Preachers of the Gospel*, with the *tender Consciences* you talk of, when these things were a doing; Truly neither better nor worse, then up to the very Ears, a great many of them, in the main Action.

Some

Toleration Discus'd.

Some Preaching up the *Conscience* of the War ; Others wheedling the City out of their *Money* to maintain it ; and calling for more *Blood* in *Prosecution* of it. Till in the conclusion, the *King*, and the *Government*, fell in the *Quarrel* : And the *Pulpits* all this while at hand, to *Patronize* the *Reformation*.

N. C. *This Ripping up of Old stories, does but widen the Breach, without doing any Good at all.*

C. If you would not *hear* of these things again, you should not do them again.

N. C. *Then it seems the whole must suffer for some Particulars.*

C. No not so. But neither must the *Whole* go *Scot-free* for some *Particulars*. Would you have me open my door to a troop of Thieves because there are four or five honest men in the company ? That there are divers *Conscientious*, and well-minded men among the *Non-Conformists*, I make no Question ; But I am yet positive in this, that the *Non-Conformists*, in *Conjunction*, are in a direct *Conspiracy* ; and when they come once to agree in a *Publique complaint*, It is no longer *Conscience*, but *Faction* ; this by the *By*.—Now to the matter before us, I have given you a *Breviate* of your own *Proceedings*, in the very *Cafe* of your present complaints. Lay your hand upon your heart, and bethink your self, who are the *Persecutors*.

N. C. *Let the Persecution rest where it will ; I am fully persuaded, that there is no Setting of this Kingdom in a State of Security, Peace, and Plenty, without an Indulgence, or Toleration.*

S E C T. XVI.

The Non-Conformists tell us, that Liberty of Conscience is the Common Interest of This Kingdom ; but Reason and Experience tell us the Contrary.

C. **T**HAT we may not spend our selves in *Repetition*, *Cavil*, or *Confusion*, take notice, that 'tis the *General Cause* of the *Non-Conformists*, which is coming under debate. For that *Toleration* which the *whole Party* desires, must needs be a *Toleration* of the *whole Party* :

Party: And that I Oppose; in confidence, that I have Reason, and Experience on my side. We have spoken already, as to the Unlawfulness; and somewhat likewise, to the dangerous Consequences of it: Together with the unruly Opinions, and Practices of several of the Pretenders to it. We are now to look a little further into it, with a more Immediate regard to the Common Interest of the Kingdom, which we may place in the Concernments of Religion, Government, Peace, and Plenty.

To begin with Religion: I do not understand, how that which delights in Unity, shall be advantaged by Division, and Faction.

N.C. As if there could be no Unity of Doctrine, without Uniformity of Discipline. The Precept is; One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism: And not One way, One Form of worship.

C. I might tell you, that it is of Ancient, and unprovable Practice, for every National Church to appoint its own Plat-form of Service, and Ceremonies; And to require Obedience, and Conformity to that Model, and to Those Rights respectively, from all its Members: But this I shall not insist upon. There is no Precept (you say) for any One Way, or Form. But can you shew me, that an Uniformity of Service, and Rituals is any where forbidden?

N.C. Not in Particular: But in the General Prohibition of all uncommanded Worship, Pag. 26.

Disc. of
Relig.
par. 1.

C. The matter in short is this. Either we have a Rule in the Gospel for the manner of Our worship; Or we have none. If there be no way of Commanded Worship, left us, by Christ, and his Apostles; And all uncommanded worship be (as you say) forbidden, there must be no appointed Worship at all; and then, every man is at Liberty, not only to worship after what manner he pleases, but (effectually) to chuse, whether he'll worship or no: Which brings in all sorts of Heresies, and Blasphemies; and countenances even Atheism it self. Now, on the other hand; If there be any Particular manner of worship Prescribed in the Word of God; from that particular manner, we must not presume to vary, by a Toleration of any other way then that: or of more, then One. Besides, that it undermines the Foundation of all Communities, to deny the Civil Authority a Right of Interposing in such cases, as are neither Commanded, nor forbidden, by God.

Let us next consider the Probable Effects of a Toleration, in respect of the Parties pretending to it. Which are, either Presbyterians;

Or

Or (in a sense of contradistinction) *Independent*. The former are for a *Subordination* in Churches: the Other for an *Independency*: (according to their *Denomination*) these are for gather'd *Congregations*; the Other, for *Parochial*.

I will not trouble you with the *Argumentative* part of the differences betwixt them; about the *Subordination*, or *Coordination* of Churches; The *Redundance*, or *Defect* of Church-Officers; The *Receptacle* of the *Power of the Keys*, and the like: But nakedly, and briefly, shew you the *kindness* they have for *One another*; The regards they have for *Christian Charity*, in the menage of the *Quarrel*; and then leave you your self to Judge, what may be the *Event* of such a *Toleration*, as to *Religion*.

The *Sectaries* (says *Edwards* in his *Gangrena*) agree with *Julian* the *Apostate*, P. 54.] They are *Libertines*, and *Atheists*, P. 185.] *unclean*, *Incestuous*, P. 187.] *Drunkards*, P. 190.] *Sabbath-Breakers*, *Deceivers*, P. 191.] *Guilty of Gross Lying*, *Slandering*, *Juggling*, *Falsifying their Words and Promises*: *Excessive Pride*, and *Boasting*, P. 192.] *Insufferable Insolence*, *Horrible Affronts to Authority*, P. 194.] There never was a more *Hypocritical*, *False*, *Dissembling*, *Cunning* Generation in *England*, then many of the *Grandees* of those *Sectaries*. — They *Encourage*, *Protect*, and *Cry up* for *Saints*, *Sons of Belial*, and the *Vilest of Men*, P. 240.] *Gangrena's Second Part*, 1646. — See Now the *Other Party* do as much for the *Peesbyterians*.

The *Presbyterian Government* is *Anti-Christian*, *Tyrannical*, *Lordly*, *Cruel*, a worse *Bondage* then under the *Prelates*; A *bondage* under *Task-Masters*, as the *Israelites* in *Egypt*: A *Presumptuous*, *Irregular Consistory*, which hath no Ground in the *Word of God*, *Barrow*, P. 79.] A *Vexatious*, *Briery*, *Thorny*, *Persecuting Presbytery*. [*Pulpit Incendiary*, P. 26.] *Formidable to States*, and *Free Kingdoms*. [*Mr. Nye*.] The *Assembly* is *Antichristian*, *Romish*, *Bloody*, the *Plagues*, and *Pests* of the *Kingdom*; *Baal's Priests*. [*Gangrena's Second Part*, 230.] The *Seed of God* in this *Nation* has had two *Capital Enemies*, The *Romish Papacy*, and the *Scotch Presbytery*. [*Sterry's England's Deliverance*, P. 7.] An *Anabaptist* said, that He hoped to see *Heaven and Earth on fire*, before *Presbytery* should be settled; [*Edwards* his *Gangrena*.] *Barrow* calls the *Consistorians*, *Dangerous*, and *Pesilent Seducers*; *Ravens*, *Wolves*, which come to Us in *Sheeps Cloathing*.]

This is enough to shew you the *Mutual*, and *Implacable Enmity*, and *Opposition* of the *Two Grand Parties*, which, you are now perswading

ing your self, might be gratified, by a *Common Indulgence*. Let me further Mind you, that the *Strife* ended not there Neither, but proceeded to *Blood*: And that, so soon, as they had master'd the *Government*, in a *Combination*, under the *Masque of Reformation*, and *Conscience*; They parted *Interests*, and upon the very same *Pretext*, Engaged in a *Second War*; and fell foul, *One upon the Other*. Wherein they sufficiently Manifested to the World, that they fought, not for *Forms*, and *Ceremonies*? but for *Booty*, and *Dominion*. No less to the *Scandal of the Religion of England*, then to the *Ruine of the Monarchy*.

N. C. You are not to stop my Mouth with Instances of Tumults, and Factions, in a Peaceable Plea for Religion, and Conscience.

C. Do not you know that *Toleration* is as good, as an *Issue* in a Government? All the *Vicious Humours* in the whole Body flow that way. But Suppose it *Conscience*? Are the *Dissenters* ever to be *Reconciled*? Shall we not have *New*, and *Monstrous Opinions* Propagated daily? And will it not be every Man's Business, to Advance the Credit, and Authority of his own Party? Where is the *Bond of Peace*, in this Exercise, and Latitude of *Dissention*? The *unity of the Church*, in this *Multiplicity of Professions*? Which is the *True Religion*, among so many divided, and *contradictory Pretenses* to it? Or rather; Is there any Religion at all, where there is neither *Christian Charity*, *Stability of Principles*, *Reverence*, or *agreement*, in God's Worship.

N. C. I hope you will not deny the Protestant Interest to be the Interest of the True Religion: and undoubtedly, the bringing of the Protestants into an Union among Themselves, is the Advantage of every Protestant State,] and of Protestantism itself.

C. Past all Dispute; and an *Uniformity of Worship* brings them into that Union; Which is never to be attained, while the World endures, by a *Liberty of Conscience*. How was the Protestant Interest (I beseech you) united in the late *Dissolution of Government*; When Every Man did that which was Right in his own Eyes? Examine the Story well, and you will find Reason to believe, that the Church of Rome has gain'd more upon Us, since That *unsettlement of Ecclesiastical Order*, then per chance from the first hour of the *Reformation*, even unto That very Day. For *Liberty of Conscience*, did no less bring a *Civil War* upon the Protestant Religion, then the pretended *Liberty of the Subject* did upon the State. It turned every Man's hand against

his Brother. Every Man had a Religion to Himself, and every Man's Conscience (as I told you) was his Bible; and we are still to presume, that like Causes will produce like Effects.

It is also remarkable, that the lowdest, and boldest Declamers against the Orders of the Church, proved likewise, the most Pragmatical, and Audacious Invaders of the Civil Peace; The Antecedent Schism serving only for a Prologue to the Ensuing Sedition.

Disc. of
Rel. par.
A. P. 40.

N. C. This Arraignment of their supposed Principles, about Government, may haply proceed upon Mistake. There is Reason to think, that the many late Disputes, about Prerogative, and Liberty are Contraversiæ ortæ, non primæ; that they had their Rise from something else, which lies at the Bottom.

C. This is but Peradventure I, Peradventure No. For if a Man may haply be in a Mistake, he may haply too be in the Right. I will grant ye likewise, that the Disputes about Prerogative, and Liberty, had their Rise from somewhat else, which lay at the Bottom. That is to say; It was not Purity of Religion, Reformation of the Liturgy, Retrenching the Exorbitant Power of Bishops, or Scruple of Conscience, (as they pretended) that wrought the Subversion of Church, and State; but it was the Design, which lay at the Bottom, of Carrying on the Great Work of Overturning the Government, under Countenance of that Plausible Imposture, and Disguise.

Disc. of
Relig.
par. I. p. 41

N. C. Inclinations and Interests, more than Speculative Opinions, will be found to have born the Sway, and Caused those Active Motions, on the One Hand, and the Other. These Dogmata, or Problems about Obedience, and Government, do but little, where Mens Affections, and Concernments do not give them Spirit, and Vigor.

C. It is most Certain, that Problems draw no Blood; and we do not read that ever any Man's Throat was cut, with a Speculation, or a Syllogism; But yet, Inclinations, and Interests (you allow) may do much, towards Mischief: So that, I have what I desire, if I am but able to make it out, that Liberty of Conscience, will most undoubtedly, breed strong Inclinations in the People, to shake off the Yoke of Non-Resistance; and that they will not want specious Appearances of Liberty to do.

C. The Sermons of Jesus Christ (as the Non-Conformists peculiarly

liarily stile themselves) have this Advantage of the Subjects of Temporal Princes; that they serve the *Better Master*: and the *Dignity* of their *Spiritual Profession* supercedes the *Duty* of their *Political Allegiance*. (So often, as they shall think Good, to stand upon That Privilege) By Vertue of which *Prerogative*, they do not only Claim an *Exemption* from the *Obligation*, and *Reach* of *Humane Laws*; But a *Commission* also, and *Authority*, to *Reform* those *Laws*, (in Case of *Error*, and *Corruption*) according to the *Standard* of the *Gospel*. Now to this *Principle*, and *Doctrine*, do but add *Liberty of Conscience*; and the *People* have *Law*, and *Magistracy* at their *Mercy* already. For *First*; they reckon themselves no further answerable either to the *One*, or to the *Other*, then they find them *Warranted* in, and *Grounded* upon the *Word of God*. And *Secondly*; they may chuse whether or no, they will find any *Law*, or *Magistrate*, whatsoever, to be so *Warranted* or *Grounded*; And consequently, whether there shall be any *Government*, or *No*. One *Man's Conscience* cannot allow *This*, or *That Injunction* to be according to *God's Word*: It may be *Lawful* to *Another*, but it is not so to *Him*; and *He* calls for *Indulgence*, and *Moderation*. *Another Man's Conscience* swears by the most High God, that it is point blank against it; and nothing will serve *Him*, but utter *Extirpation*. And whatsoever they call *Conscience*, must pass for *Current*. Every *Man* is to govern himself by his own *Opinion*, not by *Another bodies*. It is no longer *Liberty of Conscience*, if a *Man* shall be run down, and concluded by *Prescription*, *Authority*, *Consent of Fathers*, *Scripture*, *Reason*, and the like, without being *Convinc'd*.

N. C. I thought you would have shewed me in what manner, or by what means *Liberty of Conscience* comes to turn the *Hearts*, and *Interests* of Subjects against their *Superiours*, as you said you would.

C. A little *Patience*, and I'll be as good as my *Word*. It has brought us to this pass, already, you see, that it has cast the *Government* upon the good *Nature* of the *Multitude*, and made it purely dependent upon the *Breath* of the *People*, whether it shall *Stand*, or *Fall*. So that (in short) the matter in *Question*, falls under these *Two Considerations*. *First*, Whether a *People*, left to *Themselves*, either to be under the *Restraint* of *Laws* or not, will not rather agree to cast off a *Government*, then to defend it. *Secondly*; Whether they will not, likewise, find a very fair appearance of *Interest*, and *Advantage*, in so doing. The *Former*, I think, will easily be *Granted*, by any *Man* that does but advise either with the *Common Practises*

of the *World*, or with *Humane Frailty* : Taking the *World*, either in *Individuals*, or in *Parties*.

What says the *Artificer*, the *Tradesman*, the *Farmer* ? Why should we be put upon Extremities of *Hard Labour*, *Course Fare*, *Rising early*, and *Going to bed late* ? (and all little enough to keep our Families from starving) any more then *such*, and *such* ; that lie wallowing in *Ease*, *Abundance*, *Luxury*, and *Riot* ? But *this we may thank the Law* for ; that has *Appropriated* those *Possessions* to *Particulars*, which *God Almighty* gave us in *Common*. Why should we be the *Drudges* of the *Kingdom* ? (says the *Day Labourer*) the *Law* is their *Enemy* too, because it keeps them in *Awe*, that they dare not *Steal*. It is the same *Cafe*, with *Traytors*, *Felons*, *Vagabonds*, and all *Criminals*. And so it is with *Factions*, and *Associated Parties* ; we might set up *This Government*, or *This Church* ; and we, ' *Tother*, (say they) if it were not for those *Accursed Laws*, that make it *Death* to Endeavour such an *Alteration*. This is a *True* and *Naked* *Accompt* of the *Peoples Thoughts*, and *Reasonings*, in the *Point of Liberty*, and *Obedience* : and a sufficient *Proof* of their *Inclination* (not against *This*, or *That* ; but) against any *Establishment* : It being the main *End of Government*, to secure the *Community* against the *Encroachments*, and *Attempts of Particulars* : Though to the very great *Damage*, and *Ruine*, many times) of *Private Persons*, and *Parties*.

If you be satisfied now, that the *People* do not *Naturally love Government*, you need not doubt but they will judge it their *Interest* to *Remove* it : Every *Male-Content*, entertaining himself with hopes of mending his *Condition* upon the *Change*. But *Alas* ! This is not an *Undertaking* for *Single Persons*, *Small Parties*, or *Petty Factions*, by *Themselves* apart ; but some *Common Medium* must be found out, for the *Uniting* of them *All* ; which, indeed, is amply provided for, in the *Project of Liberty of Conscience* : and does not only *facilitate* the *Work*, by drawing the *Disaffected* into a *Body* ; but it does also *Countenance*, and *Encourage* it, by *Authorising* the *Separation*.

Indulg.&
Toler.
P.² 4.

N.C. But to me, it seems, on the *Contrary*, that an *Indulgence* would set the *Peoples Minds* at *Liberty* from *Fears* and *Contrivances*, for the *avoidance of Impendent Dangers* ; and encourage them to engage the *Utmost* of their *Endeavours* and *Abilities*, in the *Businesses of Peace*, and *Security*.]

C. As to the *Security*, and *Peace* of the *Publique*, if enough be not already said, you may repair to the *History* of our late *Broils*, for the

the rest: Where you will also find the Condition of *Particulars*, to have been every jot as *Distracted*, and *unquiet* (in proportion) as That of the *Government*.

You are to expect *Schism* in *Corporations*, *Companies*, *Families*; as well as in *Religious-Congregations*: *Divisions*, as well betwixt *Parents*, and *Children*; *Masters*, and *Servants*; as betwixt *Rulers*, and *Subjects*: *Fends* betwixt *Man*, and *Wife*; betwixt *Brethren*, *Kindred*, *Friends*; and all these *Differences*, variously Influenced, according to the *Bennignity*, or *Malignity* of their *Divided Opinions*. Nor will it be any wonder, upon admittance of *this Liberty*) to have as many *Religions* in a *House*, as *Persons*: where the *Husband* draws one way, the *Wife* another; and the rest of the *Family* have their ways by *Themselves*, too. And this goes on, (to the utter *Extermination* of *Order*, *Duty*, and *Quiet*) till they have throughly wearied themselves, with *Tossing*, and *Tumbling* from one *Sett*, or *Profession*, to another. And then, when they are at their wits End, they commonly take up in the *Church of Rome*, with an *Implicite Faith*, in the Conclusion.

Now if what I have said, may be of force sufficient to prove, that *Liberty of Conscience*, is *destructive*, both of *Religion*, and *Government*; and of the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*, as well *Private* as *Publique*. I cannot see how it should advance us, (as is earnestly suggested) in the *Business* of *Trade*, and *Plenty*.

N. C. We shall never have a *Flourishing Trade* without it: *Be- Liberty of*
cause the *Pressure* in these things falls generally more upon the *Trading* fort *Conscien.*
of men, than any in the *Nation*. We may see it in the *Great City*, and in p. 58, 59.
all *Corporations*: It makes many give over *Trading*, and *Retire*; It makes
others remove into *Holland*, and other *Forreign Parts*; as it did hereto-
fore from *Norwich*, to the *Irrecoverable Prejudice* of our *Cloathing*
Trade, upon the like *Occasion*; And it certainly prevents all *Protestant*
Strangers to come to *Live* and *Trade* among us.

C. The *Pressure* (you say) falls most upon *Traders*: I answer, that
you begin with a *Non Constat*; for the *Thing* it self does not appear.
And then, you make *Traders* more *Scrupulous* than the rest of the
Nation, who are not *Generally* understood to be more *Conscientious*;
as having diverse *Temptations* in the way of their *Employments*,
to strein a *Point of Conscience* now and then; and they are but *Men*,
as well as their *Neighbours*. If your *Observation* be *Right*; We may
thank the *Non-conforming Ministers*, who have had the handling
of them.

Your

Toleration Discus'd.

Your urging, that *want of Liberty makes many give over Trading, and Retire*, does not agree with their Observation, that place their wonder on the other side, that so many *Hold*; considering the Circumstances of a long, and Expensive *War* with the *French, and Dutch*. (The most Expensive that ever this Kingdom undertook.) And Two of the most dreadful, and destroying *Judgments* that ever Almighty God laid upon this Nation, *i. e. Pestilence, and Fire*, one upon the neck of another.

You object, *the Removal of others into Holland, as formerly*. Indeed it is not for the Credit of your Cause to mind us of those that formerly left us. Take the Pains to read *Bayly's Disswasive*, Pa. 75. and there you shall see what work they made in *Holland*: Even such, that *Peters* himself was Scandalized at it; quitted his Congregation, and went to *New-England*. *Bridg, Sympsen, and Ward*, renounc'd their *English Ordination*, and took *Ordination* again from the *People*. The *People* after this, *deposed, Mr. Ward*; and the *Schism* betwixt *Sympsens Church*, and *Bridg* his, was so fierce, that their Ministers were fain to quit their Stations; and the *Dutch Magistrate* forc'd to interpose the *Civil Authority* to quiet them. In *New-England*, their humour, and Behaviour not much Better (according to the Report of the same Author, *Pag. 60, 6*,) Of *Ferry Thousand Souls*, not a *Third Part* would be of any Church; and such *Heresies* started, as a Man would tremble to Recite. If only such as *These* forsake us, the Land has a good Riddance.

Further; If it was to the *Prejudice of our Cloathing Trade*, (This Separation) Who can help it? It was Their Fault to betray the Interest of their Country, by teaching the Mystery to *Forreigners*; but no blame at all can be reflected upon the *Government*, for Refusing *Toleration* to such *Lawless, and Unruly Libertines*.

Now as to the hindring of *Protestant Strangers from coming over to us, and Trading with us*, It is a clear Mistake, to imagine the Church of *England* to be such a *Bugbear* to those of the *Reformation* abroad, as is pretended. (Which shall hereafter be made appear) It is not the *Act of Uniformity* that hinders *Strangers*, but the want of an *Act of Endenisation*; which, perchance, the *Wisdom* of future Times will find convenient, for the *Supply, and Repair* of that *Depopulation* which is brought upon us by our *Colonies*.

But to come to an Issue. How was it with *Trade*, when *Conscience* took the full Swinge? It brought on a *War*; and so it must gain, or a *Standing Army* to prevent it. How many Families were ruin'd, on the one side, with pure *Benevolence* to the Cause in *Common* but

butions, and Entertainment, to the Devourers of Widows Houses, and the Captivators of silly Women? and on the other side, as many were undone with Taxes, and Plunder. How went Trading on, when all Business was neglected, but Galloping up and down to Lectures, to hear News, and Sedition? When Apprentices robb'd their Masters, and took Sanctuary in the Service? When Publick Faith was a Tradesmans best Security; and the whole Nation held Life, and Estate, at the good Pleasure of a Close Committee?

N. C. Let Liberty of Conscience be once *Fifty* given, and the Root Liberty of all Mens hopes, and Pretensions, that desire Publick Mischiefs, is Conscience pull'd up. p. 58.

C. *Fifty*, will be well indeed; But (with your Favour) what is the meaning of *Fifty*? How shall we agree upon the *Dos*? Unless you intend, that the Magistrate is to continue Giving till the Subject shall leave Asking. And that must be: For, If ever he thinks of holding his hand sooner, he had better have done nothing.

N. C. But what Colours will there be for any further Exception?

C. The very same they have now. New Scruples will bolt New Demands: And Beside; I should be glad if you would furnish me with any one Instance, where the Non-Conformists were ever the better for Indulgence.

SECT. XVII.

This Kingdom has been still the worse for Indulging the Non-Conformists, and the Party never the better. Which evinces, that Uniformity is the True Interest of this Government, and not Toleration.

C. UPON Queen Elizabeth's coming to the Crown, Those Non-Conformists, that fled, in Queen Mary's Days; and Separating from the English Congregation at Francfort, went off to Geneva, came back again for England: and with their Libels, Clamours, Private Consultations, and Meetings, gave Trouble enough to the Government for the Ten first Years of her Majesties Reign; who was, at that time, so beset, with the Roman Catholics, on the One Hand; and the Puritans, on the Other, that she thought it well, upon that Finch, to
save

save her self, without Exercising Rigor, and Severity upon either Party. This Impunity gave them the Confidence, a while after, to declare themselves for the Geneva Discipline, and (in the Fourteenth of Her Reign) by an Audacious Pamphlet (under the Title of *An Admonition*) to press the Parliament to a Reformation. The Principal Abettors of this Libel were Discover'd, and Clapt up; And soon after, out comes a *Second Admonition*; telling the Parliament, in Plain English, that, if Authority would not, they must set it up Themselves. And it was not long, ere they were as good as their Words, by Erecting several Formal Presbyteries up and down the Kingdom. (As appeared, upon Undeniable Proof, and Confession of Parties to the Combination.) They had their Synods; their Classical, and Provincial Conferences; Pronounc'd their Decrees; Concurring in the main against Bishops, Ceremonies, and Common Prayer. They had their Agents throughout the Kingdom, upon a strict Survey of the Value of every Benefice; the Number of Parishioners; Their Quality, manner of Life, and Conversation. Their Book of Discipline was long upon the Anvile; but at length, (about 1586.) it was Finished, Communicated, and Subscribed: with a Promise, to observe it Themselves, and to use all Lawful, and Convenient Means to further, and advance it. In Conclusion; the whole Matter came to be Detected; Cartwright, Snape, and several of the Ringleaders, were Examin'd and Committed: whereupon, Coppinger, Arthington, Hacket, Wigginton, &c. Entred into a Conspiracy for their deliverance; and to have the blood of every Man that should dare to give his Vote against them, in the Star-Chamber; nay, to Depose the Queen her self, in Case of her Refusal, to promote the Reformation. And all this, not without the Privy, and tacit approbation of the most considerable Ministers of the Party.

Cam'dens
El. 2.
1591.

This was the blessed Fruit of Lenity, and Forbearance under Queen Elizabeth; The Law Justled out by a Faction; a Plot upon the Life of the Queen, and Counsel, carried on, under Colour of Religion, and Reformation.

N. C. Still I perceive, you pick out the foulest Cases, and Instances you can lay hold on, to Match with Ours.

C. Is it not rather your Misfortune to write after the foulest Copies? But to the Business: What would you say, if his Majesty now in being, had Queen Elizabeth's Game to play? Apprehensions of his Life, from Jesuits, Both Protestant, and Papist? The whole Generation of the Non-Conformists United against his Person, and Government, as well in
Judgment,

Judgment, as in Faction? (which are here divided into a Thousand Diligeements) You would (beyond all peradventure) give the Government for lost, without an immediate Recourse to an Act of Indulgence, and Accomodation, to preserve it. But the Policy of Those Times made Choice rather of another Course ; Some were Imprison'd, Others, Put to Death ; according to the Demerit of the Offence.

N.C. Are you for Punishing Inconformity with Death then?

C. No, by no means; Hacket, you know, was not put to Death for Inconformity, but for Treason. And pray let me give You a Brief of his Story, as Camden delivers it.

He was born at Oundle in Northamptonshire ; a Poor, Insolent, Ill-^{Camdens} natur'd, and Illiterate Fellow. He married a Widow, spent her Fortune Eliæ. in Riot ; and when he had nothing else to Trust to, betook himself 1591. to the Imposture of Religion, and an Affectation of the Geneva Discipline : So far Ingratiating himself with several of the Prime Zealots of That Profession, that they did him the Honour to make Him of their Council, in their Grand Design, (to the Execution whereof, He also pretended an Extraordinary Call, and Commission from Above) He was (in Conclusion) Apprehended, Charged with Treason, found Guilty, Condemn'd, and Executed.

Now to shew you the Devil himself, in the shape of an Angel of Light, This Hacket, as He was upon the Hurdle, in the way to his Execution, never left Calling upon Almighty God, with Hideous Outcries : And now behold (says he) the Heavens are Open, ^{Ibid.} and the Son of the Most High coming down to Deliver me. When he was come to the Place of Execution, He prosecuted his Blasphemies, with more Horrid Exclamations : [Heavenly and Almighty God, Thou that art the Alpha, and Omega, Lord of Lords, and King of Kings ; Thou Eternal God, that knowest me to be the True JEHOVAH, that thou hast sent ; Shew some Miracle from Heaven, for the Conversion of These Infidels ; and save me from my Enemies ; Or if thou dost not, **He let the Heavens on Fire, and with these very hands cast Thee out of Thy Throne.**

I should have scrupled the bare Recital of these Blasphemies; were it not for the Desire I have, to Possess you with a Due Consideration of those Execrable Abuses, that are frequently Imposed upon the World, under the Visor of Religion. The Condition of the Kingdom was doubtless very sad; that had such Turbulent Spirits to deal withal; and yet we find, that by One Severe Law (of the 35th of the Queen's Reign) Her Majesty gave her Self, and her People, Quiet, as to That Particular, for the whole Remainder of her Life.

The Penalties (as I remember) were These: [Imprisonment without Bail or Main-prise, for being Present at Unlawful Conventicles; the Offender to be discharged, if within Three Months, He made his Open Submission, and Acknowledgement; in the Form by the said Statute appointed. But in Case of Recusancy to Conform within That time, He was required to Abjure the Realm. And in Case of Refusing to Abjure; Or of not Departing within a limited Time; Or of Returning without Licence, to be proceeded against as a Felon, without Benefit of Clergy.]

Disc. of
Rel. par.
2. p. 40.

N. C. And yet you see, for all your New-modelling of Corporations; Prohibiting of Conventicles, Removing Non-Conformists five Miles from the Place of their Usual Supports, and Influences: Nevertheless, the State Ecclesiastical hath advanced little in the Esteem, Acceptance, or Acquiescence of the People.

C. This is very True; and if Other Laws for the Prevention of Capital Crimes, were no better Executed, then That for Uniformity, Your Argument would lie as fair every jot, for the Toleration of Murder, as it does now for Schism. But however, it succeeded well with Queen Elizabeth; and not worse with King James, as appears by the Story.

Ann. 1577 His Majesty (under Twelve Years Old) took the Government of Scotland into his Hand. The Year following, the Ministers presented a Form of Church Policy, to the Parliament then Sitting; and upon the Debate, matters were agreed, as far as Possible, without Prejudice to the King's Authority, and the Liberty of the Subject: And These Points were either refer'd to further Consideration, or pass'd over in Silence. The Assembly took snuff at this Dilatory way of Proceeding, and, without more adoe, pass'd a Vote, for doing their own Business, without asking the Parliament leave. They began with the Arch-Bishop of Glasgow: and presently fell upon the whole Order, requiring Them to renounce their Temporal Titles, Their Civil Jurisdiction;

Toleration Defens'd.

83

dition; To decline their Votes in *Parliaments*, and to submit themselves to a *Retrenchment* of their *Episcopal Revenues*. Their next Step, was the *Demolishing* of the *Cathedral* at *Glasgow*. But, when the *Quarriers* were just entering upon the Work, the *Tradesmen* of the Town, in an Uproar, threaten'd the Undertakers, and so they quitted it: But not without a Complaint to the Council, of the Insolence of the *Murineers*; Which came to This Issue, his Majesty justifi'd the *Tradesmen*, and forbade the *Ministers* any further meddling in the Destroying of *Churches*. And This was all the Cheque they had for so lewd an Outrage.

In 1579. The King wrote to the *Ministers*, not to prejudge the Decisions of the *Parliament*, then approaching, by the Conclusion of their *Assembly*; and to Forbear the Practice of any *Innovations*, till their Meeting. Whereupon, instead of *Complying*, they proceeded to a Positive Resolution of *Adhering* to their Former *Conclusions*: Question'd the *Arch-Bishop* of *St. Andrews*, for giving his Voice in *Parliament*; and soon after, by an Act of *Assembly*, They commanded the *Bishops*, under Pain of *Excommunication*, not to Exercise the Office of *Pastors*, in any sort whatsoever, without *Licence* from the *General Assembly*; and further directing, the *Patrimony* of the Church to be so disposed of, as they should judge Reasonable at their next Convention: Thus, by Degrees, growing Bolder and Bolder, upon Forbearance.

The Particulars of their *Usurpations* would be too tedious; I could otherwise tell you of their *Justification* of the *Treacherous Seizure* of the King at *Ruthven*; Their *Propositions*, and *Complaints* in 1583. with the King's Gentle Return; Their *Covenant*, and *Seditious Practices*, even to the Encouraging, and *Avowing* of *Open Rebellion*. And still the more *Plyant*, and Safe his Majesty was; The more *Contumacious*, and *Untractable* were these People. In the End; What with the Tumult at *Edinburgh*, in 1596. and the *Ministers Band of Confederacy*, immediately upon it; The King was forced upon a Resolution of *Rigor*, and *Severity*; and (as *Spotswood* observes) *he received little or no Opposition thereafter*.

At his Majesties Entry upon the Government of *England*, the Ceremonies of his first Reception, and *Inauguration* were so soon over, but He was assaulted with *Petitions*, and *Importunities* about the Reformation of the Government, and *Prayers* of the *Commons* in the Name of *Thousands of Godly, Learned, and Conscientious Men*, that could not Conform: Whereupon, a *Proclamation* was issued for a

Conference to be held at Hampton Court, in January, 1604. So many Bishops, and Deans appointed for the Church, and for the Petitioners, there appeared, Dr. Reynolds, Dr Sparks, Mr. Knewstubb, and Mr. Chadderton.

The Points in Controversie, were Particularly, and Solemly Debated; and in the End, such Satisfaction given even to the Plaintiffs Themselves, that they all promis'd Obedience; and Dr. Sparks became; afterward, an Advocate for the Orders of the Church, and wrote a Treatise for Conformity. Knewstubb indeed boggled a little, and desired to know, *How far an Ordinance of the Church was Binding, without Offence to Christian Liberty?* Upon which General Question, The King turn'd short, and Answer'd him; *Le Roy's avisera: Let us have no more of Those Questions, How far you are bound to Obey, what the Church has once Ordained: But Conform at your Peril.*

While the Business was fresh, they made a faint Pretense of Appealing to another Conference: but upon second Thoughts, they let it totally fall, and never gave the King any further Trouble upon That Subject.

Thus far, you see, the Government has been preserv'd by strictness of Order, and Uniformity. We come now to those Fatalities of Tenderness, and Relaxation that destroy'd us.

N. C. You never consider, that the Non-Conformists are more Numerous, and Powerful now then formerly they were, by many Degrees: and that the Dissenters Cause has got Ground upon the Church Interest ever since. But follow your Discourse.

C. In the First of the late King; was exhibited, in Parliament, A Petition, (among other Matters) for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Restoring of Silenc'd Ministers; to which, his Majesty, return'd a Gracious, and Yielding Answer, which produc'd a Remonstrance of Miscarriages in Government; Insomuch, that his Majesty was forced to Dissolve That Parliament.

In the Second Year of his Reign; He call'd another Parliament, which pursu'd the same Method, and went a little Higher then the Former: So that the King was fain to Dissolve That too.

In the Year following; the King call'd Another; and upon their Meeting, went somewhat a quicker way to work with them: Minding them, in a short and pertinent Speech, of their Past Failings; advising them to steer a more Peaceable Course for the Future, and not to put him upon Extremities, to provide for the safety of his

People.

People. This change of Stile, and Resolution, in his Majesty, drew Immediately from the Commons a Grant of Five Subsidies. The King was too Generous, and Candid totake That Present for a Bait; and Relapsing into his former Temper of Charity, and Softness, was presently accosted with The Petition of Right; which after some Difficulty, and Demur, His Majesty passes: And after This, followed a Petition, Remonstrance, and Protestation, which put an End also to That Convention.

Look now a little into the Scotch Affairs, and observe the Growth of the Non-Conformists Demands, from one thing to another; till in the End, by virtue of what the King Granted them, they possess themselves of all the Rest. In their Tumults (says his Majesty) they Kings complain'd only of the Service Book. In their Petition exhibited to the large De- Council; they complain'd of the Service Book, and Canons. In their cla. p. 73. Covenant they complain of, and Abjure the Five Articles of Perth. (although Establish'd, first by a General Assembly, and then by Parliament) After This, they complain of the High Commission; And then, of Prelats Sitting in Civil Judicatories.

Hereupon, His Majesty Commissions Marquis Hamilton, with full Power, and Authority, to Conclude, and Determine all such Things as should be found for the Good, Quietness, and Peace of that Kingdom: Directing him also to take the mildest Course that might be, for the Calming of those Commotions. And what effect had this Peaceable Inclination of his Majesty, upon the Covenanters, but to blow them up into more Seditious, and Bolder Practises, against the King's Authority, and the Publique Peace? They pursue their Demands, and Clamour for a Free General Assembly, and a Parliament. His Majesty gives them all their Asks: Indicts a Free General Assembly, and a Parliament; Discharges the Service-Book, the Canons; High-Commission; The urging of the Five Articles of Perth: Commands the Subscribing of the Confession of Faith, and the Band thereto annexed; in the very Form which they pretended to Impose; And offers them an Act of Indemnity for what was past. In all which Condescensions, the King's Patience, and Mercy only served to heighten, and confirm those Men in their Undertakings, and to expose his Royal Dignity, to Contempt. In the Conclusion, the King had so far gratified their Importunities, that they had nothing left to Quarrel upon, but His Majesties refusing to Abolish Episcopacy, and to admit the Authority of their Lay-Elders.

From hence, they broke out into open Rebellion; and (when the King had them directly at his Mercy) upon the Interview of two Armies

Armies near *Berwick*, such was his *Tenderness*, that upon their Supplication for a *Treaty*, he *Trusted* them again, and *Concluded* a *Pacification*; whereof the *Covenanters* observ'd not so much as *One Article*.

Upon his return to *London*, his Majesty (as is elsewhere observ'd) passes the *Triennial Bill*; *Abolishes* the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commission Court*: passes an *Act* for the continuance of the *Parliament*. Not to insist upon the several other *Concessions*, concerning *Ship-money*, *Forests*, and *Stannary Courts*; *Tunnage* and *Powndage*, *Knighthood*, &c.

Now in *Requitall* of these *Benefits*, the *Faction Claps up*, and *Persecutes* his Majesties *Friends*; *Prefers*, and *Enlarges* his *Enemies*; *Re-wards* the *Scots*; *Enterteins* their *Commissioners*; *Votes* Them their *Dear Brethren*, for *Invoading* Us; *Calls* in all *Books*, and *Proclamations* against them. They take away the *Bishops Votes*; *Impose* a *Profession* upon the people; Take away *Earl of Strafford's Life*; charge *Twelve* of the *Bishops* with *Treason*; *Declare* the *King's Proclamations* to be *False*, *Scandalous*, and *Illegal*; keep his Majesty out of his own *Towns*; and *Seize* his *Arms*, and *Ammunition*. They present Him with *Nineteen Propositions* for the *Resignation* of his *Royal Authority*. They *Vote* a *General*, and *Raise* an *Army* against him. They *Usurp* the *Power* of the *Militia*, and give the *King Batel*; *Levy* *Monies*; and *Declare* the *Queen* *Guilty* of *Treason*.

After all These *Usurpations* upon the *Civil Power*, They are put to't to bring the *Cause* of *Religion* once again upon the *Stage*: They enter into a *Covenant*; and call in the *Scots* again; They *Abolish* the *Common Prayer*; *secure* the *Person* of the *King*; *Share* the *Revenues* of the *Church*, and *Crown*. They *Sequester*, *Banish*, and *Imprison* his Majesties *Adherents*; and in the *Conclusion*, *Sell*, *Depose*, and *Murder* their *Sovereign*.

This was the *Fruit* of that *Pious*, and *Unfortunate Prince's* *Clemency*, and *Indulgence*.

Now to bring the *Instance* home to the present *Times*: What could be more *Pious*, *Gracious*, or *Obliging*, than his Majesties *Declaration* concerning *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, in *Favour* of the *Non-conformists*? All that was possible for the *King* to do, in *Consistence* with *Conscience*, *Honour*, and the *Peace* of his *Dominions*, His Majesty has therein given them a *frank Assurance* of. (with their *Lives*, and *Estates*, over and above, in the *Act* of *Oblivion*: And are they not *quit* the *Quieter* for all This? No, but the *Worse*: for no sooner was the *King's Tenderness*, in that *Particular*, made *publique*, but the *Generality*

Generality (even of those that had lately Entred into a Regular, and Dutiful Compliance with the Orders of the Church) started into a New Revolt: which proves sufficiently, the Benefit, and Necessity of a strict Rule, and the hazard of a Toleration: For rather then abide the Penalty of the Act, they could Conform; but upon the least Glimpse of a Dispensation, they Relapse into a Schism.

Neither do I find, that they were less Troublesome, before the Act of Uniformity, when they Preach'd at Randome, then they have been since; Nor, to say the Truth, that they have much more Cause of Complaint, Now then they had Then. For what are they the worse; for a Penalty, that is never Executed?

But if you will have a True Measure of their Moderation, and Good-Nature: I pray'e take notice of their Proceedings upon His Majesties Commission, for the Review of the Book of Common-Prayer. We will appoint (says his Majesty, in his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs) an Equal Number of Learned Divines of Both Perswasions, to Review the same, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought most Necessary. So that the Alterations were to be agreed upon by Both Parties, and found likewise to be Necessary. Now instead of Alterations, jointly agreed upon, They Publish a Complete Liturgy of their own; indeed a New Directory; but under the Title of The Reformation of the Liturgie (which in all their Books, signifies ABOLITION) Give me the favour, next, to observe upon some of their Necessary Alterations, They have turn'd WEDDED Wife, into MARRIED. *DOEST THOU Believe?* into *DO YOU Believe?* *All this I STEDFASTLY Believe*, into *All this I UNFEIGNEDLY Believe*. These are some of the Important Scruples, that are cast into the Balance, against the Unity of the Church, and the Peace of the Kingdom. What is This, but to make Sport with Authority, and Conscience? Laws must be Suspended; Princes Vilified and Importun'd; because forsooth, the Godly Party may not be Govern'd by Laws of their own making: Nay, by Words of their own chusing too; So that we are like to have a Schism, for Syllables, as well as for Ceremonies. For what is the Difference betwixt Wedded and Married, but that the One wears the Stamp of the Law-Makers, and the Others of the Law-menders?

Is it not now evident, that they are the worse for good usage? And that they have ever been so? You see the Effects of keeping to a Rule, in Queen Elizabeth, and King James: And we have since felt, to our Cost, the Effects of a Relaxation: which abundantly satisfies me, That Uniformity is the true Interest of this Government, and not Toleration.

N.C.

N. C. Uniformity is the Interest of This Kingdom, as it is of any other, where there is any fair Possibility of Procuring it. But the Principles of Dissent have taken such Root in This Land, that you may as well think of Depopulating the Nation, as of Uniting it, upon the Points in Question.

C. But I am otherwise persuaded; and that the Party of Non-Conformists is not so considerable, as you make it.

S E C T. XVIII.

The Party of Scrupulous, and Conscientious Non-Conformists, is neither Numerous, nor Dangerous.

C. I Am apt to believe that Party is not so Numerous as you represent it for many Reasons. First; I take English Mens Consciences, and their Neighbors, to be much of a Make: And I do not find the Subject of Our Controversie, to be made matter of Conscience, by any other sort of Christians whatsoever, out of his Majesties Dominions.

N. C. 'Tis well we have Good Authority to the Contrary. The Preface to the Directory assures us, that The Liturgy used in the Church of England, hath proved an Offence, not only to the Godly at Home; but also to the Reformed Churches Abroad. And Sinecymnus tells the Parliament, (Pag. 10.) that there is such a vast difference between It, and the Liturgies of all other Reformed Churches, as that it keeps them at a Distance from us.

C. We'll talk of That anon; and in the mean time (with your good leave) pursue what we have now before us. Another thing that persuades me the Conscientious number of Dissenters cannot be very great, is This. The Law has made an Ample Provision for their Relief: Leaving every Household, with Four more, at Liberty to Worship according to their own way. So that the Laity has no Pretense of Complaint; Especially, those that plead for the Ordination of their own Ministers, and maintain, that Seven Persons make a Full, Ministerial, and Completely Organiz'd Church.

A Man might make an Exception to your Account too, upon the score of Old reckonings; for you have ever had the faculty of Multiplication.

plication. Your Thousands at Hampton-Court, came to a matter of Nine and Forty : And we remember very well, your old way of *Personating* Petitions, from Multitudes of the *Godly*, and *Well affected*, in both *City* and *Country* ; when, effectually, the poor Innocent Papers never Travell'd farther, then from the *Close Committee* to the *Lobby*.

N. C. *If you will not Credit Report, believe your Eyes. Do you not find our Meetings Thronged, and many of your Churches Empty ?*

C. Somewhat, of Both, I must Confess : but yet I am likewise inform'd, that you shew divers of these *Meetings*, as *Peters* did his *Rings*, and *Bodkins*, at several *Places*, several times over and over, to make a *Noyse*, and increase the *Reputation* of your *Party*.

To contract the Discourse. There is a loud *Clamour*, and the *Ministers* make it. And these too, that stickle in the Cause, none of the most *Conscientious* neither, unless they have a *Gospel* we never heard of, to *Justifie Disobedience* in *Themselves* ; the *Provoking* of it in *Others* ; The *Disturbing* of the *Publique Peace*, and the *Sowing* of *Dissention* betwixt *Prince*, and *People* : Which is manifestly the *Scope* of their *Writings*, and *Design*.

N. C. *That Undertaking goes somewhat too far, to pronounce upon their Designs. Do you pretend to know their Hearts then ?*

C. Yes ; and with very good Authority, If a Man may be allow'd to judge what Reasonable Men aim at, from *deliberate Words*, and *Actions*, that lead naturally, to such and such Certain Ends. And this Humour (I tell ye) of *Aspersing* the *Government*, and *Teizing* the *Multitude*, runs through all their Papers. I durst appeal to your own Soul, Whether you your self can Imagine, that a *Twentieth Part* of the present *Plaintiffs* in matter of *Conscience*, are truly acted, and possess with that *Scrupulosity* they pretend to. Alas ! Alas ! You talk of *Conscience* : 'Tis not what every Man *Thinks*, or *Says*, that is Presently *Conscience*. We are Impos'd upon by *Phansie*, *Artifice*, or *Delusion*. Some deceive themselves, and Others *consen us*. In one word, Whatsoever is not of *Conscience*, in this *Medly*, is *Faction* : And undoubtedly, the *Conscientious Party* has but a slender share in the Mixture.

As That *Party* is not *Numerous*, so neither is it *Dangerous*, upon a Principle of *Honesty*, and *Religion*. No Man of *Conscience*. can either *desire* to *Embroyl* the *Kingdom*, or *expect* to be the *Better* for't.

But still have a care how ye take every thing for Gold, that Glisters. Conscience was the Subject of the last Quarrel; Religion, the Pretence; Perjury the Bug-bear; And the Issue of it was Dreadful. Consider with your selves; You have many of the same Persons to lead you on; And They have the very same Matter too, to work upon. You meant no hurt to the last King, you say; And yet you ruin'd him: You may perchance intend as little Harm to This, and yet do him as much. And what amends is it, when the Government is laid again in Dust, and Desolation, to cry, You were Overseen? If you had thought it should ever have come to This, you would have cut off your Hands, or Tongues; and I know not what. Look Back; and Tremble at the Courie you are now upon; for you are Questionless, in the very Track of the late Rebellion. And one may, without Breach of Charity, conclude, that No Man that was an Active Instrument in the last War, can acquit himself of a most Prodigious Impiety, and Ingratitude, in reviving, and prosecuting the same Interest, and Method now against the SON, by which, he notoriously contributed toward the Death of the FATHER.

SECT. XIX.

The Non-Conformists Appeal, from the Government, and Discipline of the Church of England, to the Judgement, and Practise of the Reformed Churches Beyond the Seas; Examined, and Submitted to Censure.

C. IT is observable, that throughout the whole Quarrel against the Orders and Government of the Church of England, the Non-Conformists still fly for Countenance to the Judgment of the Reformed Churches Abroad: And so likewise in the Question of Toleration, they insist much upon the Practise, and Tenderness of Other Churches: As if the Ecclesiastical State of This Kingdom, were as Singular, for Tyranny, and Corruption, as, in Truth, the Litigants themselves are for Conspiracy, and Disobedience.

Ex. Coll.
p. 604.

In the Answer of the Two Houses to the Scots Declaration, 1642. This Government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. is Declared to be Evil, justly Offensive and Burdensome to the Kingdom; a great Impediment to the Reformation, and growth of Religion: and Resolved it is, that it shall be taken away, with a regard to the Introducing of another Government, more apt to procure an Union, with the Church of Scotland, and Other Reformed Churches Abroad. And the Ministers, in the

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the *Persecution for Peace*, sing the same Note too: *If Men* (say they) *must be cast out of the Church, and Ministry, because they are not Wi- ser than the Pastors of most of the Reformed Churches, &c.* As who should say; *The Church of England is the only Protestant Church in the Chris- tian World, that Pretends to this way of Proceeding; and the Pro- testants Abroad, are all of the Non-Conformists side.* Let this Mat- ter be fairly Examined I beseech you, and we shall quickly see where the Fault lies.

In the first Place; What is the Judgment of the *Reformed Churches* abroad, touching the *English Episcopacy*?

N. C. You may read their Judgments in their Practises: Or 'tis but looking into the Reformation in France, Holland, and the Neighbour- hood, and you may resolve your self, in the Point.

C. Truly I find nothing at all to your Advantage, which way so- ever I look;

Luther himself distinguishes betwixt *Popish Tyrants*, and *True Bi- shops*, and professes to Condemn them as *Popish*, not as *Bishops*.

The Authors of the *Augustane Confession* profess; that they would willingly preserve the *Ecclesiastical*, and *Canonical Politie*, if the *Bi- shops* would cease to *Tyrannize* over their *Churches*.

Apol. Conf.
p. 137.
De Refor.
ad Rom. Ec-
cles. p. 95.

Bucer declares himself wholly, for *Bishops*, and *Metropolitans*: And Melancthon to Luther; You would not Imagine (says he) how some Peo- ple are nettled, to see Church-Polity restored: as if it were the *Romish Sovereignty* again. *Ita de Regno suo, non de Evangelio, dimittant So- cii nostri.* As if the Quarrel were *Dominion*, not *Religion*.

Calvin acknowledges, that the *Ancient Government*, by *Arch-Bi- shops*, and *Bishops*; and the *Nicene Constitution* of *Patriarchs*, was for *Orders sake*, and *Good Government*. And delivers himself to *Cardinal Sadolet*, with an *Anathema* upon the *Opposers* of that *Hierar- chy*, which submits it self to *Jesus Christ*.

Zanchie (the Compiler of the *Galitan Confession*) observes a Change of Name, rather than of Office, throughout most of the *German Churches*: As *Super-Intendents*, and *General-Super-Intendents*, in the place of *Bishops*, and *Arch-Bishops*; Acknowledging that by the consent of *Histories*, *Councils*, and the *Ancient Fathers*, Those *Orders have been Generally allowed* by all *Christian Societies*. Where they are in *Exercise*, let them continue; and where, by the *Iniquity* of the *Times*, they have been *abolish'd*, they ought to be *revers'd*.

Beza (the rigid Successor of Calvin) in excuse to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, for meddling beyond his Sphere:—*We do not charge* (says he) *all Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, with Tyranny.—The Church of England hath afforded many Learned Men, and many Glorious Martyrs of That Function. If That Authority be there still, may a perpetual Blessing go along with it, This, in the Name of the whole Church of Geneva, and Addressed, To the Primate of all England, Totius Angliæ Primati. Saravia, arguing for the Hierarchy out of the Apostles Canons, Beza returns him This Answer. This is no more, then what we wish might be restor'd to all Churches. [Quid aliud hic statuitur, quam quod in omnibus locis, Ecclesiis restitutum cupimus?*

Beza cont.
Sarav.
p. 116.

View of
the Go-
vernment.
p. 5.
Ibid p. 6.

The Three Kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark and Norway (as Mr. Durell observes) retain the Order still, of Bishops, and Arch-Bishops. In the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, there is also a Subordination of Ministers. And so in the Palatinate; in Hesse; the Duke of Brandenburg's Territories; Anhalt, Bremen, Poland; Lithuania, &c.

Ibid p. 122

Come we now into France, Holland, and Geneva. And first here Mr. du Bos of the Reformed Church of Caen. Well ordered Episcopacy hath most Important, and Considerable Utilities, which cannot be found in the Presbyterian Discipline.

Ibid p. 125

Mr. Gaches, one of the Ministers of Charenton. The best Men in our Churches (says he) have honour'd the Prelates of England.—The Name of Schism may do more harm to the Church in one Year; then the Excess of Episcopal Authority can do in an Age. And again: Sin hath brought in the Necessity of Government; and the Failings of Ministers make the Order of Bishops Necessary.

Ibid 138.

Ibid 140.

Mr. le Moyn, of Rouen, pronounces it to be want of Prudence, and Charity, if any seek the ruine of Bishops, [I trust that his Majesty will be sure to re-establish the Authority of the English Church, and use his Power for a perfect Re-union of all the Reformed Churches; which that he may Effect, His Majesty must preserve his Bishops.

Ibid 146.

I hold it impossible (says Mr. Gayon of Bourdeaux) that England can ever be quiet, and flourish, but under the Episcopal Government.

Ibid 118.

In Holland, Bogermanus, (the President of the Synod at Dort) upon a Suggestion from the Bishop of Landaff, how fit a Remedy Episcopacy would be for the Suppression of Heresies, and Schism, made this Reply; *Domine non sumus adeo felices*] We are not so happy, My Lord. And for Geneva, we have the Voices of the Principals of that Church also, for the Authority, and Advantage of Episcopal Government. So that if you be no better Seconded against our Ceremonies, then you are against our Bishops, you have the whole Stream

of *Protestant Divines* against you. This is according to what I have formerly had occasion to deliver, upon *This Subject*.

N. C. We do dissent, upon just Reasons, from the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, or Prelacy, (Disclaimed in Covenant) as it was Stated, and Exercised in These Kingdoms; yet do not, nor ever did renounce the True, Ancient, Primitive Episcopacy, as it was Balanced, or Menaged by a Due Commixtion of Presbyters therewith.

Petition
for peace,
P. 5.

C. We are not here to Debate the Qualifications, and Limits of the Episcopacy you pretend to: but to proceed, having made it appear, that the Hierarchy, which (under Colour of Reduction, or Commixtion) you formerly rooted out, and are now again undermining; is That very Hierarchy, which you have now heard Reverenced, and Recommended by so many Venerable Testimonies. Or, if after all this, you can but produce one Publique Act of any Protestant Church, beyond the Seas, in favour of your Claim, do it; and save your Party the Credit, of not being Single, and Particular in your Schism. What have you next to say against our Ceremonies?

N. C. All the best Reformed Churches of Christ, (who only are Competent Judges in this Case, and to whose Judgment, and Example, we ought rather to Conform our selves, in Ceremonies, than to the Synagogue of Anti-Christ) do esteem those Ceremonies, Needless, Inexpedient, and Fit to be Abolished: How the Churches of other Countries approve of them, may appear sufficiently by this, that they have banished the use of them out of their Assemblies.

The Old
NonCon-
formist, P.
21.

C. Are they only Needless, Inexpedient, and Fit to be Abolish'd then? I thought you would have found them absolutely Unlawful, Idolatrous, and upon pain of Damnation, not to be Retained. According to this Measure, what will become of the whole Frame of our Government, if it shall take you in the head, to say the same thing of every Law, and Constitution of the Land? Ceremonies will not down with you, because they are Needlesse, Inexpedient, &c. I beseech you, shew me the Needfulnesse of Killing, and Plundering, or the Expedience of Dissolving Publike Laws, and Depopulating Kingdoms: and yet these are Matters you can swallow, even without chewing, needlesse and Inexpedient? Softly, I beseech you; you are for teaching your Governors more Wit, as well as more Religion, and Conscience.

N.C.

N.C. Keep to your Text I pray'e; for we are not now upon the Lawfulness of the *English Ceremonies*; but upon an Enquiry, what Entertainment they receive in the Judgement, and Practice of other Reformed Churches, without engaging our selves in any other consideration of their Reason, and Convenience. I say, they are banish'd out of their Assemblies, and you are at Liberty (if you can) to prove the Contrary.

C. Let us first see how far we agree upon the allowance of any Ceremonies at all, and where to place the Right and Authority of Imposing them.

The Church of England thinks it convenient, that every Countrey should use such Ceremonies as they shall think best, to the setting forth of Gods Honour, and Glory, &c. which is according to the sense of Other Reformed Churches, as appears by their several Confessions.

With Us agrees, first, the Church of *Helvetia*. [Churches have always used their Liberty in Rites, as being things Indifferent, which we also do at this Day. That of *Bohemia* likewise; [Humane Traditions, and Ceremonies, brought in by a good Custom, are with an uniform Consent to be retained in the Ecclesiastical Assemblies of Christian People, at the Common Service of God. The *Gallican*; [Every Place their Peculiar Constitutions, as it shall seem meet for them. The *Belgiques*; [We receive those Laws that are fit, either to cherish or maintain Concord, or to keep us in the Obedience of God. That of *Augsburgh*; [Ecclesiastical Rites, which are Ordain'd by Man's Authority, and tend to Quietness, and Good Order in the Church, are to be Observed, That of *Saxony*; [For Order sake, there must be some Decent, and Seemly Ceremonies. That of *Swethland*; Such Traditions of Men, as agree with the Scriptures, and were Ordained for Good Manners, and the Profit of Men, are worthily to be accounted rather of God than of Man.

Cap. 27.
Cap. 15.
Art. 32.
Art. 32.
Art. 15
Art. 20
Cap. 14.

N. C. The Question is not, about an Agreement in Ceremonies that may be Exercis'd without Offence, either to God, or Man; (according to your Instances) but about their Liking, or Dislike, of those in Practice among us: As the Surplice; Kneeling at the Communion; The Cross in Baptism, and the like.

View of
the Go-
vernment;
P. 5.

C. As to the Surplice; Mr. Durell tells you, that the Churches that Conform to the Confession of *Augsburgh*, have the very same Ceremonies with the Church of England: And Surplices in many Places. And further; that a National Assembly at *Charenton*, Anno. 1631.

but

both declared, that there is neither Idolatry, nor Superstition in That Worship. The Protestant Ministers also in Bohemia, Lithuania, Prussia, Ibid p.24, make no Scruple at all of Preaching in Surplices, whensoever they are called upon to Preach where Surplices are used. Nay, Calvin himself, does not approve of Hooper's violent In-conformity in that Point. Ep. Bullin- ger. fol 98.

[De f'ileo, &c. Veste Linea, maluissim. (ut illa etiam non probem) non usque adeo ipsam pugnare: Idque nuper suadebam. And let Mr. Baxter pin the Basket. Some Decent Garment is necessary; either the Magistrate, or Minister himself, or the Associated Pastors must determine what. If the Magistrate or Synod tie all to one Habit, (Suppose it Indecent) yet this is but an Imprudent use of Power, and the thing is self being Lawful, I would Obey, and use that Garment. Baxters Five Disputations, disp. 5. ca. 2. sect. 49.

N. C. You only make mention where it has been used, and permitted; but you take no Notice where it has been Rejected. And then the Personal Authorities you cite, in favour of it, declare their Judgments to be still against it.

C. But only so against it, as not to Allow of a Separation, upon That Scruple. Now whereas you object the Refusal, or Rejection of it, elsewhere: It does not follow, that every Church disallows, what it does not Practise: And it shall content me, to find the Practise of many Churches for us, and None, against us.

As to Kneeling at the Communion; the Bohemian Churches use that Posture, and so do the Churches of Poland. With whom, the French, and Dutch do so far agree, as *In hoc Ritu, suam unique Ecclesie Libertatem salvam relinquere*. To leave every Church at its own Freedom, in that Particular.] Mr. Baxter in his Five Disputations, does also profess, that rather than disturb the Peace of the Church, he would Kneel too; How hardly soever he may think of the Imposition. So that in the Case of Kneeling, likewise, we have several of the Reformed Churches that joyn with us in the Practise of it, and not so much as any one of them, that appears in our Condemnation.

Touching the Use of the Cross in Baptism; (beside the undeniable Antiquity of the Custom) you may hear from Mr. Durell, that The Reformed Churches of the Confession of Augsburg, do for the most part use it; and that at Paris, many Children of the Church of Charenton, have been Baptized in the Chappels of the English Embassadors there, according to the Rites of the Church of England. And moreover, that

View of the Government, Pa. 49.

only,

only the *Non-Conforming English*, and *Scotch* oppose it. I could enlarge myself, upon very good Authority, to the justification of our way of Worship, *throughout*, in every Particular of your *Exceptions*; but I will rather chuse to encounter all your *Objections at once*; by proving, that the *Protestant Churches, Abroad*, have as great a *Reverence* for the *Authority, Rites, and Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*, in the whole Frame of the *Constitution*, as they have a *Kindness* for the several Parts of it, which they do severally Exercise among *Themselves*.

I must still be beholden to the Industry of the Reverend Durell, who has much obliged us with a clear, and Methodical Manifestation of the *Agreement of the Church of England*, (as it is now Established by the *Act of Uniformity*) with other *Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*.

View of
the Go-
vernment,
p. 63.

Sir John Colladon (one of his Majesties Physicians in Ordinary) had the Honour to Congratulate his *Majesties Restauration*, from the City and Church of Geneva, and from the Protestant Cantons in Switzerland. Upon his departure, he put this Quære to the Rulers of the said Church; Whether he might Lawfully Joyn with the Church of England, in Publick Worship, and receive the Holy Sacrament according to the usual Rites thereof? It was answered, that he might; and that it was not to be question'd.

Ib. p. 73.

Here is also, a whole French Reformed Congregation, that hath Conformed to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, to the great satisfaction of the Divines at Rouen, Paris, Geneva, Bourdeaux, &c. And since the Establishment of this Church, divers Ministers have come over from Geneva, France, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Piedmont; Students, Elders, Private Persons: and none of them ever yet refused, either to assist, or conform.

Ib p. 90.

Ib. p. 92.

Ib. p. 64.

Mr. de Laune, Minister of the Wallons Church at Norwich; and Mr. Calendrin one of the Ministers of the Dutch Church in London, have divers times Officiated in *English Congregations*, according to the Book of *Common Prayer* of the Church of England without any Scandal, either Given, or Taken.

Ib. 69.

Scripta
Anglica.
p. 445.

Nay, so far are they from disowning us, that the French Divines hold them for *Schismaticques*, and Punishable, that refuse Communion with us. Bucer thanks God with all his Soul, to see the English Ceremonies so pure.

N.C. And have they, I beseech you, their *Set Forms*? Their *Pre-emptory Impositions*? Their *Declarations*, and *Subscriptions*?

C. Yes,

C. Yes, yes; all this, and more for *Set Forms*, methinks you should rather tell me *any one Reformed Church* that wants a *Set Form*, then put me to the trouble of *Naming* all that have. *Calvin* and *Beza* are Positive for them. *Geneva* much more severe for the Observance of them, then we are here; *Inconformity* there, is cause of *Banishment* for a Year: and the *Gallican Church* makes it a matter of *Excommunication*. In *Geneva*, *Calvin* establish'd his *Discipline* by an Oath, both upon *People*, and *Pastors*, to observe that *Form* for ever after. The *Ministers* take an Oath of *Canonical Obedience* in *Hungary*; And the *French Divines* are not admitted, without *Subscription*. There's no *Imposing* upon *Publike Laws*, with *Private Scruples*: No bandying allow'd, betwixt *Conscience* and *Authority*: He that will not submit to the *Orders* of a *Community*, away with him (says *Calvin*.) It is not enough to take cheque at the *Constitutions* of the *Church*, under colour of a weak *Conscience* (or so pretended) but you must be fully satisfied, that the *Constitution* is *Wicked In It Self*. Nay, *Calvin* carries it further. Suppose it really ministers *Matter of Offence*; (says he) *That will not serve to vacate the Obligation*, unless it be also found to be *Simply*, and *In It Self Repugnant* to the *Word of God*. [*Quia tamen Verbo Dei per se non Repugnat, Concedi potest.* To provide against *Evil consequence*, is the *Magistrates Duty*, not the *Subjects*.

Hobbers
Eccle. Pol.
Preface.

N. C. *The Worship of God*, is in it self *Pure*, and *Perfect*, and *De-* Two Pa-
cent, without having any such *Ceremonies* affixed therunto; [*And ma-* pers of
ny Faithfull Servants of the Lord, knowing his *Word* to be a *Perfect Rule* Proposals,
of *Faith*, and *Worship*, have ever been exceeding fearful of *Varying* P. 7. 8.
from his *Will*, and of the *Danger of Displeasing him*, by *Additions*, or
Detractions, in such *Duties*.

C. You will hardly find any honest *President* for this *Nicety*. (*Calvin* would have given it a worse *Name*) *Testatum Velim* (says he) *me non de Ceremoniis Litigare, quia Decoro tantum, & Ordini Serviant: vel etiam Symbola sunt, & Incitamenta ejus quam Deo deferimus Reverentia*. He Declares himself, you see, not only for *Ceremonies*, of *Order*, and *Decency*; but for *Ceremonies* of *Significancy*, and *Incitement* to *Reverence* and *Devotion*. And in another Place, *Ergone* (*In-* Instir.
quires) *nihil Ceremoniarum rudioribus dabitur, adjuvandam Eorum Imperitiam? Id ego non dico; omnino enim mihi illis esse sentio, hoc Genus* lib. 4. c. 9
Adminiculi.] Will you allow of no *Ceremonies* then at all, (you'll say) sect. 14.
for the *Instruction* of the *Vulgar*? You do not hear me say so; for I am clearly of opinion; that they are of very great *use*, and *service* to the *People*.

N

Upon

Toleration Discuss'd.

Upon the Main; The English Non-Conformists, (as Mr. Duxell well observes) are a sort of People by themselves; and Non-Conformists, at Geneva, and Frankfurt, as well as at Canterbury, or London,

N. C. But still, methinks, whatsoever our Consciences are as to the way of Publick Worship, we might yet be Indulged with an Allowance of Serving God among our selves. Why should a Toleration do worse Here, then in Holland?

C. I might Answer you with another Question. Why should a Commonwealth do worse Here, then in Holland? Or Why should a Standing Army do worse Here, then in Holland? Beside If you look narrowly into it, you will find the Dissenters from the Settlement There, to be rather Strangers, than Natives. English, French, High-Dutch, that flow'd into them upon the General Revolt from the Church of Rome; Lutherans, and Anabaptists, out of Germany; Calvinists out of France; Separatists, and Semiseparatists out of England, in the Days of Queen Mary, and Independents, since; all which were entertain'd, more out of Regard to Policy, then Conscience; their Business being at that time to shake off the Yoke of Spain, and Change the Government. To which End, these several Parties contributed effectually, by preparing the People for the Alteration Intended; and inuring them to New Principles, both of Religion, and State.

And yet you are not to understand Theirs to be a Perfect Toleration on neither. For you see, they would not, upon any terms, allow That Freedom to the Arminians, which they did to Others; but Conven'd a Synod, and Exterminated the Sect. The reason was, they had a Jealousie of the Arminians, for Barneveldt's sake, the Head of that Party.

You are to take notice also of the great difference betwixt the Interest, and Condition, of Our Ministers, and Theirs. Our Clergy have a Freehold in their Benefices for Term of Life; and if they be Favourably disposed, they may Evade the Law, and do a Mischief, without making a Forfeiture. Whereas Theirs Preach upon Good Behaviour; Live upon the States Pay; and upon the least Colour of Offence, may be turn'd off at pleasure. I need not tell you what Harvock, Peters, Bridges, Symson, Ward, made in Holland: But what they did Abroad, the same thing they would have done at Home, if they had been Tolerated.

N. C. What do ye think of Poland then?

C. I think

C. I think, That Story speaks little to your Advantage: take it either in respect of their frequent *Sedition*, or in Regard of their *Prodigious*, and *Heretical Opinions*: And yet they live under the strongest Obligation in Nature to keep them quiet; the *Tartar*, and other *Powerful Neighbours*, lying hard upon them; which makes their Case to be rather an *Agreement* against a *Common Enemy*, than among *Themselves*.

N.C. Now take all at the worst: It is but *Athanasius* against the world, and *The World* against *Athanasius*. Number and Truth, are not all-ways of a Side.

C. And yet *Your Multitudes* make up a part of your *Argument*. This however let me speak for you; There has no *Industry* been wanting to *Propagate* your *Profession*.

In the Year 1619. The *Scotch Discipline* was presented to the *Synod at Dort*, for their *Approbation*: but they would not meddle with it.

Anno 1654. Upon the Reprinting ('at Geneva') of A Collection of *Spotswoods* the several *Confessions of Faith*, received in all the *Reformed Churches* Hist. of Europe; under the Title of, Corpus, & Synagoga Confessionum Fidei, Scotland, P. 540. of Europe; under the Title of, *Corpus, & Synagoga Confessionum Fidei*, &c. It was moved that the *Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England*, might be left out, and the *Assembly of Men's Confession*, put in the place: But the Motion was totally rejected, The *Thirty Nine Articles* Inserted, and not a word of the *Directory*. View of the Government; p. 173.

They had no better luck with their *Covenant* neither, when with their *Discipline*, [The *Ministers*, and *others of the Consistory at Charenton*, and of other *Reformed Churches in France*; as also the *Professours*, *Ministers*, and *Consistory of Geneva*, and of other *Neighbouring Reformed Churches in those Parts*, were so scandalized with this *Prodigious Covenant*; as that they were afraid of nothing more, than this, that it would bring an *indelible Scandal* upon the *Reformed Churches*, and alienate the *Minds* of all the *Princes of Christendom*, from ever entertaining a good Thought of their Religion. Kings large Decree. p. 77.

The *Venerable Assembly of English Divines*, and *Scotch Commissioners* (as they filed Themselves) sent the Copy of their *Covenant*, and a *Solemn Invitation* to *Seventeen Reformed Churches* beyond the Seas to join with them. Their Letter should have been *Latin*; But so it was, that they left it a *Measuring Cast*, whether they were the better *Christians*, *Casuits*, *Subjects*, or *Gramarians*. Their skill was most

employ'd, in Exhorting the *French Protestants* to follow *Their Example*, and cast off the Yoke of *Antichrist*; (that is to say, of *Obedience*.) And in Calumniating their *Sovereign*, as a *Confederate* with the *Papish Intereſt*, to destroy the *Proteſtancy*. Which *Deſigne*, was only to be obviated, by a *Holy League*. This was the Drift of the *Addeſs*; But we never heard Syllable of the *Answer*.

There needs no more be ſaid to prove the Judgment of the *Reformed Churches* ſtrong, and *unanimous* againſt you; and you had beſt make a Trial, if you can ſupply by *Reason*, and *Argument*, what you want in *Countenance*, and *Authority*.

SECT. XVII.

The Non-Conformiſts Exceptions to Our Publike way of Worſhip, found Guilty of Great Impiety, and Errour.

C. **W**Hat are your *Exceptions to Our Way of Worſhip*? Are they *General*; or *Particular*? Is it the *Impoſition* it ſelf, or the *Thing Impoſed*, that diſpleaſes you?

N. C. *Why truly Both. The One takes away my Chriſtian Liberty; and the Other, the Liberty of my Conſcience. The greateſt part of my Trouble, is the Act of Uniformity.*

C. Is it the *Model*, or the *Uniformity* you ſtick at?

N. C. *Both alike; for neither is the Particular Act fram'd to my Satisfaction; nor is it poſſible that any One Form of Worſhip ſhould ſuit All Judgments.*

C. Will *Toleration* ſuit *All Judgments*, any better then *Uniformity*? But, I perceive, you do not accompt the *Sanction* of any *One Form* whatſoever to be *Lawful*.

N. C. *Indeed I do not think it Lawful for a Magiſtrate to enjoyn any thing upon a Penalty, which a Private Perſon may not Conſcientiouſly Obey him in; Nor do I think it Warrantable, for a Man to Obey any Humane Command, againſt the Dictate of his Conſcience.*

C. Put This together now. *Fiſt, It is not Poſſible that any One Form*

Form of Worship should suit All Judgments : And then, it is not Lawful to enjoyn any thing upon a Penalty, which does Not suit All Judgments. What is This, but a meer Trifling of Government ; to suppose a Law, without an Obligation ?

Again ; If the *Magistrate* cannot *Impose*, neither can he *Tolerate* ; unless you'l suppose him a more Competent Judge of Your Conscience, then of his Own : for you allow him to Understand what he may *Tolerate*, and deny him the Knowledge of what he may *Impose*. So that either he has no *Power*, or no *Reason* to favour you : No *Power*, as you state his *Capacity* ; And no *Reason*, as you disclaim his *Authority*. But you were saying, that the *Imposition* takes away your *Christian Liberty*. As how, I beseech ye ?

N. C. In making Those things Necessary, which Christ left Free. For wherein does Christian Liberty more concern it self, then in the Free use of Indifferent, or the Forbearance of Doubtful things, which we are bound entirely to preserve ; And whereof, by your Ecclesiastical Injunctions, we stand Depriv'd ?

C. If the King be Ty'd up, in Matters that are either Commanded, or Forbidden ; and the People left at Liberty, in things Indifferent : I would fain know what Authority has to work upon. But this Point will fall in of it self by and by : Though enough be said already, to prove your *Posuion* utterly destructive of Order, and Society. For there is but Good, Bad, and Indifferent, in Nature : What we are Bound to do ; What we are Bound Not to do ; and What we may either Do, or Let Alone. (That is to say, without the Interposal of some Incidental Obligation to determine that Indifference.)

The Asserters of this Doctrine, fetch their Warrant for it, out of St. Paul to the Galatians 5. 1. Stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. Upon this Text they ground their Exemption. But here they prudently stop too ; for the Context would have spoil'd all : And they might as well have Argu'd against the Efficacy of Christ's Death, from the latter part of the second Verse, as for Christian Immunity, (in the Latitude they understand it) from the former part of the first. The Apostle goes on in these Words ; And be not entangled again with the Yoke of Bondage. 2. Behold ; I Paul say unto you, that if ye be Circumcised, Christ shall profit ye nothing. For I testify again to every Man that is Circumcised, that he is a Debtor to do the whole Law.

The

The Case, briefly, was This. By the Coming of our Blessed Saviour, the Jewish Ceremonies were abolish'd: Some that had a mind to Continue them, and keep the People still under the Yoke of the Law, stood for the Doctrine of the Circumcision, (which was here the very matter in Question.) The Apostle cautions the Galatians against it; and not to be entangled again with the Bondage of the Law. Which amounts only to a Discharge from the Bondage of that Law to which they were before Subjected; without extending That Liberty, to the Prejudging of Authoritative Laws, and Impositions for the time to come. As if the Apostle had Preached one thing to the Galatians, and the contrary to the Romans. Obedience, at pleasure, in one place; and Obedience under pain of Damnation, in another.

In the Second, and Third Verses, St. Paul (you see) clears, and presses it further. As if he had said; Be Circumcised at your Peril. For That single Point of the Law, makes you answerable for the Performance of every tittle of it. We are not (says Calovius) Perperam ad Politicum Ordinem) perversely to apply the Doctrine of Spiritual Liberty, to Political Order, as if Christians were to be ever the less Subject to External Government by Humane Laws, because their Consciences are set at Liberty before God. Nay, says he, in another place; *Si Ecclesia Incolumitati bene prospectum volumus*] The Church can never be safe, without St. Paul's Decency and Order. But in regard of the diversity of Customs; and the variety of Mens Minds, and Opinions; It is not possible to secure any Polity, without the Authority of certain Laws; or to preserve any Order, without some stated Form. Now so far am I from condemning any Laws conducing to this End, [Ut his ablatis, dissolvi suis Nervis Ecclesias, Totalque Deformari, & Dissipari contendamus] that I look upon the Removal of them, as the Dissolution of the very Sinew of the Church, and expect nothing after it, but Deformity, and Dissipation. Nor is it to be imagin'd, that All things should be done Decently, and in Order, (after the Apostles Precept) but by the mediation of certain Rules, and Observations, which may serve as so many Bonds for the Regulation of that Decency, and Order. Always provided, That Those Ceremonies be not Imposed as Necessary to Salvation, or Essential to God's Worship.

From your Plea for Christian Liberty, (which is a Proposition, in it self, destructive of all Communities) let us now move to your next Exception, in the Matter of Scruple: which I am afraid will be found no less Intolerable in Religion, then the other was in Government; and Dangerous enough in Both.

It would take a Man an Age to run through all the Quirks, and Niceties

Calvin

Instit. l. 3

c. 19. sc. 15

Ibid. l. 4. c.

10. sc. 27.

Niceties of the *Question*; and to trace every Particular, in diſpute, from the Original of its *Practiſe*, or *Inſtitution*. And beſide; It were but *Actum Agere*; for the *Lawfulneſs*, and the *Antiquity* of *Biſhops*, *Liturgies*, and *Ceremonies*, with all the *Minutes*, and *Circumſtances* of the *Caſe*, has been abundantly, and *irrefragably* clear'd already, by many *Reverend*, and *Learned* Hands. I muſt not ſay *Unanſwerably*, becauſe the *Opponents* would ſtill have the *Laſt Word*; And they have *Replied* indeed, with much *Confidence*, and *Verboſity*; which has had the luck to paſs with the *Common People*, for *Authority*, and *Reaſon*. The *Scripture*, and the *Fathers* (in the *Interim*) complain of very hard dealing from them, and make open *Proteſtation*, that they never ſo much as *dreamt* of what our *Noveliſts* deliver to the *World* in *Their Names*. But however, (*right or wrong*) their *Margents* are ſtill *Embroider'd*, with *Texts*, and *Teſtimonies*, in evidence of their great *Piety*, and *Abilities*: All which their *Disciples* *Swallow* and *Swear*, without underſtanding one Syllable of the *Matter* in *Conteſt*. For alas! They are a ſort of *People*, that hold very little *Intelligence*, with *Antiquity*, or *Learning*. Their *Buſineſs* lies in their *Shops*, and at their *Trades*, or *Labours*. What have *They* to do with *Counſels*, and *Fathers*? What *Accompt* can they pretend to give, of the *Practiſes* of the *Primitive Times*, and the *Stream* of *Eccleſiaſtical Story*? And upon *This Hinge* moves the *Frame* of the *whole Diſpute*! wherein they do manifeſtly *paſs Sentence* without *Knowledge*, and govern themſelves totally by an *Implicit Faith*. So that, being *prepoſſeſt*; It is but *Scribbling on*, and keeping out of their *Reach*, to perpetuate the *Quarrel*. This I ſay; *Unleſs* the *Subject* of it, might in ſuch manner be *brought down*, and *accommodate* to the *Capacity* of the *Vulgar*, as to make way for an *Appeal* from the *Snares* of *Artifice*, and *Impoſture*, to the *Rules*, and *Meaſures* of *Common Reaſon*.

The Church of *England* is now labouring under the *Scandal*, and *Diſtraction* of a violent *Schiſm*; by reaſon) as we are told) of many *Doubling*, and *Scrupulous Conſciences*, that cannot *Conform* to her *Rites* and *Orders*: and *Heavy Complaints* are advanced againſt the *Gouernment*, on the behalf of the *Diſſenters*.

In the *fiſt* place, let us enform our ſelves, *Who are the Promoters* of this *Complaint*? Secondly, *What Warrant have they for ſo doing*? Thirdly, *Do they Well, or Ill in't*?

N. C. Your *fiſt* *Queſtion* is ſoon reſolved: The *Complainants* are the *Diſſenters*.

We

C. We are never the nearer for That Answer : for neither does it appear to us, that all the *Dissenters* are *Complainants* ; nor that all the *Complainants* are *Really* and in *Truth*, *Dissenters* : Nay we are able to produce the *Hands*, and *Declarations* of many of your prime *Champions*, in Evidence to the *Contrary*. But to keep on our *Course*; The only *Complainants* we can take notice of, are the *Silenc'd Ministers*, in their *Private Books*, and *Sermons*.

Petition
for peace.
P. 5.

N. C. Should not the Love of Christ command us to be tender of Those that are so tender of his Honour ; and to take heed what we do to Men, for taking heed of Sin, and being afraid to offend the Lord ? And should not the Special Love of Christians, and the Common Love of Men, command us to be loth to drive them by Penalties, upon that which they Judge, doth tend to their Everlasting Damnation ; And which indeed doth tend to it, Because they Judge it so to do : Suppose they be *Mistaken*, in thinking the things to be so displeasing to God, Yet it is commendable in them, to be fearful of displeasing him.

Ibid.

C. And do not you find now, that in the same *Breath*, you *Raise*, and *Encourage* the *Scruples* you complain of ; and plead (effectually) but for *Doubts* of your own making. This is a Method for *Counterfeiting* *Cripples*, not for *Faithful Ministers* ; To make *Sores*, on purpose, to *Beg Plaisters*. But it is to be hop'd, that This is not done without good *Warrant*, and *Authority* : and I should be exceeding glad to see a *Copy* of their *Commission* for what they do.

N. C. It is a *Duty* of their *Pastoral Office*, to have a care of their *Sheep*.

C. But they have no *Sheep* at all, unless they steal them out of other Mens *Flocks*, I think we may take for granted, that they have no *Legal Warrant* : for the *Non-Conformists*, and the *Act* for *Uniformity*, are *profess'd Enemies* : and these *Proceedings* are, point-blank, in *defiance* of it.

From the *People*, they can have none neither ; For *They* are concluded already, by their own *Act*, (in their *Representatives*) against the very thing they pretend to. Or if *That Bar* were away ; yes, and a greater difficulty too, that follows it ; which is, The *Moral Impossibility* of bringing all the *People* together, that are to be *Parties* to the *Commission* : I am perswaded, it would pose the best *Conveyancers* in this Kingdom, to draw up a *Deed of Trust*, to *That Purpose*, without a

Flam

Flaw in't. That is to say: A *Commission* from the *Diffusive Body* of the People, must be Directed to such and such *Ministers*, as *Commissioners* for *Tender Consciences*.

From *Heaven* it never came neither, I do verily believe. For most certainly *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, never Issued out any *Commission*, for the *Distracting of Consciences*, and *Societies*. We read indeed of *Confirming the Weak*, but not a *Syllable*, of *Staggering* them. And for the *Extraordinary Ways*, of *Vision*, and *Revelation*, they are not so much as mention d.

N. C. If you would have given me leave, I would have told you, e'en now, that they are Warranted by a *Sense*, and *Impression* of *Conscience*, in the *Discharge* of their *Pastoral Duty*: Which obliges them, [To *Petition* watch over their Flock; To preserve them from *Errours*, *Heresies*, for peace, *Divisions*; To Defend the Truth, Confute *Gainfayers*, and *Sedu-* P. 79. *cers*; Instruct the Ignorant, Excite the Negligent, Encourage the Despondent, Comfort the Afflicted, Confirm the Weak, Rebuke, and Admonish the Disorderly, and Scandalous.

C. Here's much against you, and not one Word in your Favour. Instead of Preserving their Flocks from *Heresies* and *Divisions*, your Pastors demand a down-right *Toleration* of them. And instead of Encouraging the Despondent, Comforting the Afflicted, and Confirming the weak; They tell the Distressed, (for their comfort) that if they do any thing with Doubting, they shall be Damn'd; and never go further, to deliver them from those Doubts; but their they very fairly leave them, Surrounded with *inextricable Scruples*; and their very Souls, Broken, and confounded with *Agony*, and *Horror*. Whether they do Well, or Ill, now be You your self the Judge.

My Opinion is, that they have as little to say for the *Conscience* of their Proceedings, as any way else. First, Their very *Preaching*; and *writing*, (by reason of their *Legal Incapacity*) is a *Transgression* of the Law. Secondly, In the *Matter it self*, they are too blame; for it is of very evil Consequence, both upon the *Publique*, and upon *Particulars*. To say nothing of their Undertakings for other *Mens Consciences*, which is a *Privilege* belonging unto *God himself*.

That they do Ill, in disobeying the Law, and in troubling the Government, I suppose you will not deny: And yet am I perswaded, that the very *Foundation* of their *Plea* for *Separation*, and *Dissent*, is the greatest part of the *Mischief*. We have *Laws Ecclesiastical*, for
O the

the Ordering of the Church, and you refuse to Obey them. For what Reason, I beseech you?

N. C. *The best Guide in the case of Impositions, and Obedience, I take to be the Word of God; and our Doubtings sure are very Reasonable, concerning God's Worship, where the Scripture gives no Direction. Show us where they are Commanded in the Gospel, and we are ready to Obey them.*

C. *The Scripture is the Rule of our Faith, not of our Outward Actions, and Practise, [Whatsoever, to make up the Doctrine of Man's Salvation, is added, as in supply of the Scriptures Insufficiency, we reject it. But does it therefore follow, that All things Lawful to be done, are comprehended in the Scripture? Admit This, and God in delivering Scripture to his Church, should clear have abrogated amongst them, the Law of Nature, which is, An infallible Knowledge Imprinted in the Minds of all the Children of Men, directing us in the Choice of Good and Evil, in the Daily Affairs of this Life. Admit This; and what shall the Scripture be, but a Snare, and a Torment to Weak Consciences filling them with Infinite Perplexities, Scrupulosities, Doubts Insoluble, and Extream Despairs? Not that the Scripture it self doth cause any such thing, but the Necessities of this Life, urging Men to do that which the Light of Nature, Common Discretion, and Judgment of it self directeth Men unto: On the other side, This Doctrine teaching them that so to do, were to Sin against their Souls; and that they put forth their Hands to Iniquity, whatsoever they go about, will have not first the Sacred Scripture of God for their Direction. How can it chuse but bring the Simple a Thousand Times to their Wits End? How can it chuse but vex and amaze them; to be obliged in every Action of common Life, to find out some Sentence of Scripture, Clearly, and Infallibly setting forth, what we ought to do? Admit This, and it shall not be with Masters, as it was with him in the Gospel; but Servants being commanded to go, shall stand still, till they have their Errand Warranted unto them by Scriptures. Thus far the Learned Hooker: in Agreement with Mr. Calvin, (the Oracle of the other Party) in his Chapter of Christian Liberty, who writes to this Effect.*

Hookers
Eccel Pol.
l. 2 sect. 8.
Ibid.

Ibid.

Calvin
Instit. l. 3
c. 9. sc. 7

Let every Man have a care not to make things Indifferent, Masters of Religion; for nothing can be more necessary then the right understanding of That Liberty; without which, we shall never have any Peace of Conscience, and there will be no End of Superstition. [Qua si ab omni, nulla Conscientia nostris futura est Quies; Nullus Superstitionum finis]

He

He that Scruples the *Lawfulness* of Eating, or Drinking *Delicacies*, will by degrees, let his *Scruple* fall to *Meats* and *drinks* less *delicate*, and so from one thing to another, lower and lower; (and all all this while, in a perpetual *Anxiety* of *Conscience*) till he comes at last to satisfy himself, that what he takes, both for *quantity*, and *quality*, is but just sufficient to entertain the absolute *Necessities* of *Nature*. He must have a *Text* for every thing he does; and not step over a *Straw*, without consulting *Scripture* first: and every common *Action* is made a *Case* of *Conscience*. From this miserable *Perplexity* of *Mind*, what can be expected, but *Despair*, and *Confusion*? *Hanging*, *Drowning*, *Cutting of Throats*, and all the wretched *Extremities* of *Violence*, which those poor *Creatures* exercise upon themselves, as their last *Retreat*, to avoid the *Fury* of a *Tormenting Conscience*.

This is the *Fruit* of the *Doctrine* of *Christian Liberty*, a *Dangerous*, and an *Impious Position*; and can have no other *Aim*, (In *Truth*, scarce any other *Issue*) than the *Vacating* of *Humane Laws*; and the *Extermination* of all *Principles* of *Duty*, and *Subjection* out of the *Hearts* of the *People*. But to be as short as may be, you see the *Effects* of your *Scruples*; pray speak a little to the *Grounds* of them. What *Exceptions* have you to our *Common-Prayer*? And see if you do not from one end to the other, fall foul upon your *Arguments*.

N. C. It is devised by Men.

C. So are your *Ministers Prayers*; and all *Prayers* whatsoever, *Scripture Forms* Excepted.

Trial of
the Engl.
Liturgy.
p. 4.
Ibid. p. 5.

N. C. It is Imposed upon the *Ministers*, and *People*, of *Necessity*.

C. The *Imposition* of the *Directory* was yet more *General*, *Strict*, and *Peremptory*. There was no *Dispensation* for a *Family*, and *Four* more, which, as it might be improv'd, takes in well nigh the whole *Kingdom*.

N. C. But your *Common Prayer* is stinted, both in *Matter*, and *Words*, to be used without *Variation*, and so was not the *Directory*.

C. Why may not the *Church* impose a *Sanctified Form* upon the *Minister*, as well as the *Minister*, (if he so pleases) upon the *People*? For if the *Minister* be left at *Liberty* either to keep to one *Form*, or to vary, at his own *Election*, The *Congregation* is at his *Mercy*, whether they

they shall have a *Stinted Form*, or *No*. *Smectymnus* is so gracious as to allow of a *Stinted Form*, himself; in Case the Minister shall be found insufficient to discharge the Duty of Prayer in a Conceived way: But then it is to be Imposed on him as a Punishment: To use Set Forms, and no other. So that it is not the Unlawfulness it seems, of a Set Form, nor the Imposition, but the Inexpedient you stumble at: And the World is at a fine pass sure, when the Parliament of England shall not presume to make Laws, without asking the *Silenc'd Ministers* Opinions first, about the Expedience of them. The Directory, as to the Matter of it, is as well a *Stinting* of the Spirit, as the Common Prayer. For in the Substance and Scope of the Prayer, the Minister is limited; only for the Wording of it, he is at his own Freedom: And if he may but turn Almighty and most Merciful Father, into Omnipotent and most Gracious Lord God, the Peace is concluded. Otherwise we are to look for nothing but Fire and Sword: Lives, Laws, and Liberties, must be hazzarded in the Quarrel.

N. C. Do you make no difference between Imposing Set Forms, upon a few Insufficient Ministers, and upon a Multitude of Others, in Common, that have the Gift of prayer.

C. No none at all, as to the Exemption of any Man from the General Rule. Beside; What Security can any Man give, that he shall continue in the Right Exercise of his Reason? Put case your Gifted Minister should be taken with some Distemper that seizes the Brain, and Disorders, (or but Clouds) his Understanding: Nay, let it be only some faint, drowsie Indisposition of Body, or heaviness of Mind, What becomes of the Assembly, under so Languid, Spiritless, (and perchance Extravagant) a Dispensation?

Further: The Right, and the Reason too, of Imposing upon One Minister, extends to All.

Again; If a Set Form may be admitted, where the Minister is not good at Extempore; What becomes of your Argument, I beseech ye, for the Consciences of the Congregation? unless you understand the weaknesse of the Minister to be a Dispensation for the Scruples of the People; In which case, it may be lawful for the King and Parliament to Impose a Service-Book.

And yet again; Over and above the Vanity and the Arrogance of the Undertaking; do me but the favour to consider, what an Irreverence, what a Prophanation of Gods Holy Worship, and Ordinances, must needs ensue upon it. The Desk is turned into an Oratory, as well for

for the *Trial of Gifts and Faculties*, as for the *Exercise of them*: and half the business the *Congregation* has at Church, is to hear men talk to God Almighty, upon their *Probation*; which is done too (God knows it, even at the best) not without great *Imperfections*, Page 11. and *Failings*; witness their [*Affectations*, *Impertinency*, *Rudeness*, EIK. BAS. *Confusion*, *Flatness*, *Levity*, *Obscurity*, *vain and ridiculous Repetitions*, P. 127. *their senseless and oftentimes blasphemous Expressions*:] which are but Helps at a Plunge, either to gain time for the recovery of their lost matter, or to stop-gaps, and fill up broken Sentences. Now where's the *Life and Power* (as you call it) of *Devotion*, all this while, when the whole man is taken up (and all little enough too) about *Words*, and *Periods*; And the Ministers chief care diverted from the *Saving of Souls*, to the *Saving of his own credit*? Hence proceeds that *Agreement of Tone and Emphasis*, in all their *Exclamations*, *Acted Passions*, and *vain Repetitions*, with now and then a *Groan* drawn out to a most doleful length for a *Parenthesis*. For they are all sick of the same Disease, and these *Interjections* give them a little *Breath*, and *Respite*, for *Recollection*. Now in this loss of *Sense*, and *Order*, How is it possible for the *Affections* of the *Congregation*, to keep company with the *Minister* in all his *Wandings*, *Doubtings*, and *Circumlocutions*? The one half of their *Intention* is spent in *Divining* (before-hand) what he drives at; and the other, in unriddling his *Meaning*, when he has *Deliver'd* it. Whereas in *Set-Forms*, both *Minister and People* are freed from these *Distractions*, and totally intent upon the duty of the *Worship*: and there is a greater *Harmony*, and *Union of Affections*, when they *Pray All* at the same *Time*, in the same *Words*, and for the same *Thing*. I might insist upon the *Inconvenience* of leaving Ministers at *Liberty*, for fear of disturbing the *Publick*: and tell you over and over, that in our *Stinted Forms* we do but join in the *Common Priviledge of Other Churches*: But more than enough is spoken Already. Let me hear now what you have to say against our *Ceremonies*.

N. C. Whereas *Kneeling* is Imposed, in the Act of Receiving the Lord's Supper, We desire that none may be Troubled for Receiving it *Standing*, or *Sitting*.

Proposals to his Majesty, P. 22

C. You have quitted your *Hold*, I perceive, of your *Scriptural direction*, and *President*. For neither *Standing*, nor *Sitting* was the *Trickinary Posture*. But why not *Kneeling*, as well as either *Sitting*, or *Standing*?

N. C.

Ib. p. 23.

N. C. *Because it is a Novelty*; contrary to the *Decrees*, and *Practise* of the Church, for many Hundred Years after the Apostle, And it has been forbidden *General Councils*. And it is not Good also to shew a needles Countenance of Adoring the Bread of God.

C. Can you shew me that *Kneeling* at the Lord's Supper has been forbidden, where *Kneeling* at other parts of *Publique Worship* has been *Allow'd*? Now you your selves allow of, and *Practise Kneeling* in other Cases, which is every jot as contrary to the *Ancient Custom*, as *Our Kneeling* at the Sacrament. But We must not *Kneel*, you say, for fear of *Countenancing* the *Adoration* of the *Breaden God*.

To which I Answer, that *First*, The *Doctrine* of our Church speaks directly to the *Contrary*. *Secondly*, The *Rubrick* directs *Kneeling* at the *Confession*; and the People continue *Kneeling*, at the *Receiving*.

N. C. *But with your Favour*, the *Rubrick* does afresh enjoyn *Kneeling*: and order the *Communion* to be delivered into the Peoples Hands *Kneeling*.

C. Right. And now take your Choice, whether we shall rather run the hazzard of being suspected to adore the *Bread*, because we receive it after the *English Gesture* of Worshipping, which is *Kneeling*; or incur the same Censure, by *Changing Posture*, and taking it after the *Ancient way* of Worshipping, which is *Standing*?

If you can make appear, that where the *Custom* was to *Worship Standing*, they *Received Kneeling*; you say something toward the perswading of us that *Worship Kneeling*, to *Receive Standing*.

Your *Exceptions* throughout, are much of a *Quality*; *Negatively Imposing* upon *Authority*, because you will not be *Positively bound* up your selves. For, *You shall Not do This, or That, is an Imposition, as well as you Shall*. Another Humour you have gotten, of *Scrupling* at *Ceremonies*, because they are made as *Necessary* to *Salvation*, as the *Word* is self, and the *Sacraments*. (This is the Suggestion of the *Petition for Peace*, Pa. 9.) Whereas it has been, and still it is the *Constant Care* of the *Imposers themselves*, by an expresse *Solemnity of Explanation*, to satisfy the whole World to the *Contrary*.

Give us leave only for one Word more, and that out of *Calvins Institutions*, concerning *Scandal*; (Lib. 3. Cap. 12.) which you make one part of your Complaint. There is (says he) a *Scandal Given*, and *Taken*, The One is the *Scandal* of the *Weak*; the Other,

of

of the Pharisees; who out of a perverse Admignity of Spirit, turn every thing to the worse. There is no Yielding to this sort of Men; No Enduring, no Hearing of them: [*Qui quum in mille Impietatis Formas Duces se prebent, sic sibi agendum fingunt, ne proximo sint Offendiculo.* Who, under colour of Tenderness in the Matter of Scandal, make no Conscience at all of a Thousand Gross Impieties. This is His Judgment, and Our Case: And there is no Remedy, but by concluding upon a Final, and Unaccountable Judge.

S E C T. XXI.

Whatsoever God hath left Indifferent, is the Subject of Humane Power.

C. **A**S Reasonable Nature consists of Soul, and Body; so is the Authority that Governs it, Divine, and Humane: God, Eminently over All, and Princes Ministerially, under Him, and as his Substitutes. The Dominion of our Souls, God reserves Peculiarly to Himself, committing That of our Bodies to the Care of the Magistrate.

Now if Power be a Divine Ordinance, so consequently is Subjection; for to Imagine the One, without the Other, were to destroy the Reason of Relatives. A strict and accurate disquisition of this Matter, would save us much Trouble that arises about the Bounds and Limits of our Duty; How far Religion binds us, and how far Allegiance. That they are severable, we are not to doubt, since Truth itself has said it. *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.* But that they are only so severable, as never to become Inconsistent, is founded upon the same Immovable Rock; *Let every Soul be subject, &c.* A Precept, of a Perpetual, and Universal Operation, and Limited neither to Time, Place, nor Persons.

N. C. Your Deduction of Government, and Subjection, from Divine Institution, is well enough; and that we are to Obey the Magistrate for God's sake, and in Subordination to God, is easily Prov'd, and Granted: *But I hear nothing yet of the Particular Bounds, and Terms of Humane Jurisdiction; What 'tis belongs to God, and what to Cæsar.*

C. And That I confess is the Pinch of the Question: For One Duty comes up so close to the Other, that 'tis not for every Common Eye

Toleration Discus'd.

Eye to pass between them: Effectually, they *Touch*; but in what Point, is of a *Nice Decision*. The nearest way to the Knowledge of our Duty, is to apply it to the *Laws*, and *Powers* of the *Authority*: for a Man must first *Know* the Rule, before he can *Observe* it. We are then to consider, that the Almighty Wisdom has invested *Kings* with an *Unlimited Power* of *Commanding*, or *Forbidding*, in all *Matters*, which *God Himself* has not either *Commaned*, or *Forbidden*: Which Proposition resolves it self into this Conclusion. *Whatsoever God has left Indifferent, is the Subject of Humane Power.*

N. C. Does not that Opinion destroy Christian Liberty?

C. No: But the Denial of it destroys *Magistracy*. If *Kings* have not *This Power*, they have *None at all*: And it implies a Contradiction to suppose any *Authority* in *Nature* without it.

N. C. But may not a Prince tye himself up, in a thing otherwise Indifferent?

C. I speak of *Power* according to the *Institution*, not of *Power* limited by *Faction*.

N. C. May not the same thing be Indifferent to One, and not to Another?

C. Very Good: And will not every thing Imaginable appear *Non-Indifferent* to some or other; if nothing may be *Commaned*, but what upon such a *Phanſie* may be *Disobey'd*?

N. C. Pardon me: I do not speak of *Matters of Civil Concern*, but of *Matters of Religion*.

C. That's all a Case; for you cannot Instance any *One Civil Action*, that may not be made *Relative to Religion*. But we are now upon the *Extent of Humane Power*. That there is such a *Power*, and That *Authoriz'd* too by *God Himself*, you have already *Granted*. Let me but understand now, Upon what *Subject* shall that *Power* be *Exerciz'd*; If you exclude Things *Indifferent*: *One Man* may have a *Real Scruple*, and all the *Rest*, pretend one. Who shall distinguish? So that the Rule holding from *One* to *All*, the *Sacred Authority* of the *Prince* becomes dependent upon the *Pleasure* of the *Subject*; and the
Validity

Validity of a Divine, and Unchangeable Ordinance, is subjected to the mutable Judgment, and Construction of the People.

N. C. *And you expect, the Magistrate should as well have the Authority of Judging what's Indifferent, as of Restraining it.*

C. You may be sure I do; for I am but where I was, if I make You the Judge. Is it not all one, as to the *Magistrate*, whether you Refuse, upon Pretense that the Thing is not *Indifferent*, or upon Pretense, that He cannot *Restrain* a thing *Indifferent*? The *Crime* indeed is differing in the *Subject*: for the *One* way, 'tis an *Usurpation of Authority*; and the *Other* way, 'tis a *Denial* of it.

N. C. *Why then it seems, I am to believe every thing Indifferent, which the Magistrate tells me is so, be it never so Wicked.*

C. No: There you are bound up, by a *Superiour Law*.

N. C. *Have you so soon forgot your self? You would not allow me to be a Judge, just now; and here, you make me one.*

C. Right. To your self, you are one but not to the *Publique*; you are a Judge of your own *Thoughts*, but not of the *Law*.

N. C. *And does not This way of Arguing as much endanger Authority, as the Other? For All may Judge Thus, as well as One.*

C. 'Tis possible they may. Nay, we'l suppose an *Imposition* foul enough to move them all to do so; and yet there's a large difference: For *Diversity of Judgment* does not shake the *Foundation of Authority*; and a Man may *disobey* a *Sinful Command*, with great *Reverence* to the *Power* that *Imposes* it.

N. C. You were saying e'en now, that my *Duty* to God, and to the King, could never be *Inconsistent*. How shall I behave my self, I *Pray*'e, if the King command one thing, and God another? I cannot observe the *Law*, without violence to my *Conscience*, nor discharge my *Conscience*, without Offence to the *Law*. What *Course* shall I take, to avoid *Enterfering*?

Toleration Discuss'd.

C. Demean your self as a *Christian*, toward the *Law of God*, on the *One* hand, and as a *Subject*, toward the *Ordinance of God*, on the *Other*; As considering, that you are discharg'd of your *Obedience* in *That Particular*, but not of your *Subjection* in the *General*.

N.C. Put *Case* the *Supreme Magistrate*, should by a *Law*, *Establish* a *Falsè Worship*.

C. He's nevertheless your *Prince*, and even in *This Complication*, you may acquit your self both to *God*, and to *Cesar*. Though the *Worship* be *amiss*, the *Magistrate* is yet to be *Reverenc'd*; and you are to divide the *One* from the *Other*; in such manner, as still both to *Fear God*, and *Honour the King*. This *Loyal*, and *Religious Separation* of our *Duties*, will set us right in the *Main Controversie*. Where do ye find that *Kings Reign*, upon *Condition* of *Ruling Righteously*? Or that we owe them *less*, *After Misgovernment*, then we did *Before*?

N.C. But do you say we are bound to *Honour* an *Idolatrous Prince*? *This is not according to the Doctrine of many of our Grave Divines*.

C. They are never the better *Divines* for that *Doctrine*. The *Prince*, I tell ye, you are bound to *Honour*, though not as an *Idolater*. Shall the *Vice*, or *Errour* of the *Person*, degrade the *Order*? By the *Rule*, the world must continue without a *Government*, till we can find *men without failings*.

N.C. So that, when it makes for your turn, you can allow (*I see*) of *distinguishing betwixt the Person, and the Office*.

C. Betwixt the *Frailty* of the *One*, and the *Sacredness* of the *Other*, I do: for *Kings Command*, as *Gods*; though they *Judge*, as *Men*. But I do no more approve of dividing the *Person* of a *Prince*, from his *Authority*, then of dividing his *Soul* from his *Body*.

N.C. And I beseech you, what is that, which you call *Authority*?

C. It is the *Will*, and *Power* of a *Multitude*, deliver'd up by *common consent*, to some *one Person*, or *more*, for the *good* and *safety* of the *whole*: And this *Representative* acts for *All*. Now on the other side, the disposition of such or such a *Number of Persons*, into an *Order of Commanding and Obeying*, is that which we call a *Society*.

N.C.

N.C. *What is the Duty of the Civil Magistrate?*

C. To procure the *welfare* of the *People*; or, according to the *Apostle*, *He is the Minister of God, for a comfort to those that do well, and for a terrour to evil-doers.*

N.C. *How far are his Laws binding upon his Subjects?*

C. So far as they that *Parted* with their *Power*, had a *Right* over *Themselves*.

N.C. *Whence was the Original of Power? and what Form of Government was first; Regal, or Popular?*

C. *Power was Ordain'd of God, but Specifi'd by Man: And beyond doubt, the First Form of Government was Monarchique.*

N. C. *But I should rather think the Popular Form was First: For how could there be a King without a People?*

C. So was the *Son* before the *Father*, you may say, for *How could there be a Father without a Son?* But the *Question* is; *First: Was the World ever without a Government, since the Creation of Man? Secondly; whether was there first in the World, One Man, or More?* But we are not here upon the *Form of Government*, but upon the *Latitude of Humane Jurisdiction*; be the *Sovereignty* where it will. And my *Assertion* is, that *It extends to whatsoever God has left Indifferent. If you deny this, you overthrow all Government.*

N. C. *And what are you the better, If I should grant it; unless we could All come to an Agreement, about what is Indifferent, and what not.*

C. Which must be procured by the allowance of some *Judicial Authority* to decide it.

SECT. XXII.

No End of Controversie, without a Final and Unaccomptable Judge, from whose Sentence there shall be no Appeal.

C. **W**hen *Subjects* come once to dispute *Laws*, *The War* is already *Declar'd* against the *Government*. For it is not

the *Equity* or *Iniquity* of the *Matter* of the *Law*, that is the *Question*; but the *Authority* of the *Law-Maker*; under the countenance indeed of somewhat that might be mended in the *Law* itself. And the *Business* comes Immediately to *This Issue*; Whether the *King*, or the *People*, shall *Determine*, in what concerns the *Good* of the *Community*? That is to say; whether the *Government* shall *Stand*, or *Fall*? whether or no we shall submit our selves quietly to be over-ruled in all *Controversies*, by a *Definitive Sentence* of *Law*; (according to the *End*, and *Intention* of *Government*, in its first *Institution*) Or otherwise, by receding from that *Common*, *Peaceable*, and *Impartial Arbitrator* of all our *Differences*; from our *Faith* given; our *Oaths*, and *Contracts*: throw our selves back again into a state of *Nature*, and *Dissolution*; and for want of a *Moderator*, leave all our *Disagreements* to be decided by the *Sword*? (The certain Event of all *Popular Appeals*, from *Laws*, to *Multitudes*).

This was the Ruine of us, in our Late Confusions. The *Faction*, you saw, could do nothing, upon the Suggestions of *Right*, or *Wrong*; *Convenience*, or *Inconvenience*; till they came to make *Themselves* the *Judges* of it: And no sooner were they posselt of *That Pretention*, but all went presently head-long to Destruction. From *Questioning* the *Legal Power* of the *King*, they proceeded to the Exercise of an *Arbitrary Power*, *Themselves*: From *Asserting* the *Subjects Liberties*, to the *Invading* of them: And from the *Reformation* of *Abuses*, to the *Extirpation* of the *Government*. The *Two Houses* led the *Dance*, and outed the *King*; The *Commons* did as much for the *Lords*; and the *People*, as much for the *Commons*: Which comes to no more, then what was reasonably to be expected, upon turning the Course of *Publique Affairs* into a wrong Channel; and subjecting the *Indisputable Rights* of *Sovereign Authority*, to the *Censures*, and *Expostulations* of the *Rabble*.

N. C. What are those *Indisputable Rights*, I beseech ye?

C. I reckon (among others) The *Power* of *Making Laws*; and likewise of *Enforcing* the *Execution* of them; without admitting any sort of *Demur*, or *Contradiction*: for let the *People* break in once upon any *One Law*, and they will hardly quit their hold, till they have worm'd out, or unsettled all the *Rest*. In short; I do esteem it a matter of *Absolute Necessity*, to the *Peace*, and the very *Being* of all *Government*; to have some *Unaccountable Judge*; some *Unquestionable Expedient* of *Law*, or *Authority*, for the Binding of *Controversies*:

verses: The Determination to be Final, and Decisive: No Appealing from it, and no contending beyond it.

N. C. *What not in Case of Error? I could be well enough content with a Judge; and with Indisputable Laws, if you could but assure me of Infallible Law-Makers. But I should be sorry to see a Roman-Infallibility set up in England.*

C. So that rather than a Fallible Judge, you will have None at all. You could be content with a Judge, you say, but then That Judge must be Questionable, in Case of Error; so that Another Judge is to Judge Him; and the very Judge of This Judge, is Himself Questionable; and so is his Judge, and his Judges Judge; (in Infinitum) in Case of Error: Which Case of Error may be Alledg'd, wheresoever there is no Infallibility; and if there be no Infallibility in Nature, then by your Rule, there can be no Judge in Nature.

N. C. *I do not say but a Man may Judge Certainly in some Cases, though not Infallibly in All: and all I ask, is only a Free Exercise of my Judgment at Discretion, without being ty'd up to an Implicit Resignation. There is but a Right, and a Wrong: and the One I must Embrace, and Reject the Other. How shall I know This from That, without Enquiry? And what am I the better for That Enquiry, if when I have Learn'd my Duty, I am debarr'd the Liberty to Practise it.*

C. You turn the Question, from the Necessity of a Judge, to his Infallibility. 'Tis all one to me, whether you make him Infallible, or Credible, or what you make him, or where you place him; provided that he be Acknowledg'd Necessary, and Unaccomptable. That He is Necessary, I presume you will easily afford me: for there can be no Peace without him, every Man being at Liberty to Wrangle, where no man is authoris'd to take up the Strife. But would you have him Unaccomptable, or no?

N. C. *What greater Encouragement is there in the World, to Tyranny, then the Opinion of an Unaccomptable Sovereignty?*

C. What is it rather (you should have said) that Excites Sedition, and Depopulates Kingdoms, so much as the Contrary? And doubtless, the Fiercest Tyranny is much more supportable, then the Mildest Rebellion.

N. C.

N. C. Truly, as to the Convenience of a Definitive Sentence, I should be glad to see it; without the Hazard of a Definitive Injustice.

C. You mistake your self, if you oppose a Possible Injury on the One side, to a Certain Wrangle, and Confusion on the Other. If Insolubility you cannot find, why may not the fairest Probability content you?

N. C. But would you have that Probability govern by Unquestionable, and Authoritative Conclusions?

C. By any means; you do nothing else: For where Controversie are Inevitable, and Concord (if it may be had) Necessary; What can be more Reasonable, then to chuse the most Competent Judge of the Matter in Controversie, for the Concluding Umpire of the Controversie it self?

N. C. But a Man may Judge Probably in One Case, and Improbably in Another: Suppose the Determination to be manifest Error, or Injustice; would you have the same Submission paid to it, as if it were Equity, and Truth.

C. Yes: To the Determination, though not to the Error: You are to stand to the Authority of the Sentence, without Contesting the Equity of it: for Right or Wrong, 'tis a Decision. The Principal Scope, and sure End of a Reference, is Peace: The Hopeful Event, and Issue of it, is Righteous Judgment. Is it not well then, to be sure of the One, and in so fair a Likelihood of the Other? Put it to the worst; You are not bound to be of the Judge his Opinion, but to be overrul'd by his Authority: Neither do you undertake that he shall Judge Critically, as to the Subject of the Question; but that he shall Judge Effectually, as to the purpose of the Reference.

N. C. This Resignation may do well, in Cases of Civil Interest: but it will hardly hold in Masters of Conscience. Who shall pretend to Judge of my Conscience, beside God and my Self?

C. The Scripture, which is the Rule of all Consciences, shall be the Judge of Yours. But the Question is not, What the Conscience is, but what it Ought to be: Not what your Private Judgment says, but what the Scripture means; and the Thing I strive for, is a Judge of
That:

That: A Judge of the Rule of Faith; which I take to be all out as necessary, as a Judge of a Political Law.

You cannot but allow, that there are Diversities of Opinions, as well in Religion, as concerning Secular Affairs: And such is our Corruption, that we draw Poyson, even from the Fountain of Life; and the Word of God it self, is made the Warrant of all Crimes, and the Foundation of all Heresies.

Look behind ye, and you may see a Prince Murder'd by his Subjects: Authority Beheaded by a Pretended Law, and all this Defended by a Text. The Church Devour'd by a Divided Ministry; The Government overturn'd by a Solemn League and Covenant to support it: An Arbitrary Power Introduc'd by the Patrons of Liberty: The Lords Prayer Cashier'd, to make way for the Motions of the Holy Ghost; and Charity it self Extinguish'd for the Advancement of the Gospel. We have liv'd to see as many Heresies, as Congregations; and a Confistorian Scrutiny, prest beyond the Rigour of a Spanish Inquisition. We have seen *some* that (a) abhor Idols, committing Sacrilege. Corist's (a) Rom. 2 Kingdom cry'd up, till his (b) Divinity is Demy'd. Strictness of Life Inculcated, till the very Rule of it (c) (The Decalogue it self) is Re- (b) By the Famillists, (c) By the Antinomians: And Blasphemy hunted out of the Tavern, into the Pulpit.

In fine; What Sin, and Misery have we not known, and felt, since under the Form of Liberty of Conscience, This Freedom of a Private Spirit came in vogue? Nor are we ever to expect better from it, till all Men shall conspire to do the same thing, where every Man is left to his Own Gust, to do what he pleases. And whence flows all this Mischief, and Confusion, but from a License of Wandring from the Rule? Methinks These Practises should put you, and your Cause out of Countenance.

N. C. I am no Advocate for Anarchy, though no Friend to Uniformity: And I know 'tis with Non-Conformists, as with other People; there are Good and Bad of All sorts. But to go with the Moderate: Would you have All Mens Consciences Govern'd by the same Rule?

C. Better Particulars suffer for Incompliance with the Publique, then the Publique suffer for Complying with Particulars. Uniformity is the Cement of both Christian, and Civil Societies: Take That away, and the Parts drop from the Body; One Piece falls from Another.

The Magistrate (for Orders sake) requires Uniformity; You, and our Associates oppose it, upon a Plea of Conscience. The Question

is; Whether *He* shall Over-rule *your Opinions*, or *You* Over-rule *His Authority*? This Dispute begets a *War*, for want of a *Judge*; and to prevent that Conſequence, I offer that a *Judge* is *Necessary*. Or put it Thus: *You*, and *I* differ; and poſſibly we are *Both* in the *Wrong*; but moſt certainly we are *not Both* in the *Right*; and yet neither of us but thinks well enough of his own Opinion. What's to be done in this Caſe? Shall we Wrangle Eternally?

N. C. No, We'd rather put the *Matter* to Arbitration.

C. Well; but the *Arbiter* himſelf is *Fallible*; and may miſtake too: Or let him have the Wiſdom of an Angel, he cannot pleaſe us *Both*: For that which ſeems *Right* to the *One*, will appear *Wrong* to the *Other*. ſhall we ſtand to his *Award* whatever it be? If not, take into your Thought theſe Conſequences. *You* reſuſe to ſubmit, becauſe it is *Wrong*; and *I* may reſuſe, by the ſame Reaſon, though it be *Right*: (For Every *Man's Reaſon* is of *Equal Force*, where there is no *Common*, and *Representative Reaſon* to Bind *All*.) So that by your Reckoning, every *Man* is in the *Right* to *Himſelf*, and in the *Wrong* to *all the World beſides*: (for I perſwade my ſelf, that Nature never produc'd two Perſons, in all Points, of the ſame Judgment.)

Now, if you can neither deny *Confuſion* to be the *Natural Effect* of this *Liberty of Judgment*; nor the want of a *Regulating*, and *Director*y Sentence, to be the *Cauſe* of this *Confuſion*, I hope you'll grant me the *Necceſſity* of an *Unaccountable Judge*.

N. C. Is not the *Word of God* a ſufficient *Judge*?

Chilling-
worths
Safe Way,

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C. No: That's no *Judge*, but [a *Rule* for *Chriſtians* to *Judge* By] and the great Danger lies upon the *Meaning* of That *Rule*. Witneſs thoſe *Swarms* of *Hereſies*, that have over-ſpread this Land, ſince the *Bible* has been deliver'd up to the Interpretation of *Private Spirits*.

N. C. You ſay well, if you could direct me to a *Judge* that we might al rely upon.

C. And you ſay ſomething too, if you could make appear, that *None* at all is better then the *Beſt* we have: Or that *Popular Errors*, *Numberleſs*, and *Inevitable*, (with the *Diffolution* of *Societies* to boot) are to be preferr'd to the *Few*, and only *Poſſible Failings* of *Authority*, attended

attended however with *Peace*, and *Agreement*. The Question Briefly, is This. Whether will you rather have; *One Fallible Judge*, or a *Million of Damnable Heresies*?

N. C. Truly as you have reduc'd it, to a *Certainty of Peace* the One way, and to as great a *Certainty of Discord*, the Other; to a *Certainty of Many Errours*, without a *Judge*, and to a bare Possibility of some Few with One: I think a Final Judge may be Convenient. if not Necessary.

C. If you find it so in the Church; sure You will not Dispute it in the State; especially against an Experience too, the most forceable of all Reasons. We were never troubled with *Constructive Necessities*; with Cavils about the *Receptacle of Power*, and the *Limits of Obedience*: With Distinctions betwixt the *Political*, and the *Natural Right* of the People; the *Legal*, and the *Personal Will* of the Prince; and betwixt the *Equity* and the *Letter of the Law*: till Judgment was forced from its proper Course, and the *Decision of Political Controversies*, committed to the frivolous, and tumultuary arbitrations of the People.

N. C. Nay, I am as much for a Judge as You; but not for One Judge to All Purposes: Nor indeed, for any Judge so Absolute as you would have him.

C. I tell ye again, A Judge, and no Absolute Judge, is No Judge: and you shall as soon find the End of a Circle, as of a Controversie, by such a Judge. Nor is it my Intention, that One Judge should serve for All Purposes.

N. C. Divide your Matter then, and assign to every Judicable Point its Proper Judge.

C. You have Reason; for truly I do not take the Magistrate to be any more a Judge of My Conscience, then I am of His.

N. C. No doubt of it; And it were an Encroachment upon the Prerogative of God Himself, for the Magistrate to Challenge it.

C. How comes it now, that we, that accord so well in the End, should differ so much in the Way to't? But I hope the Clearing of the next Point will set all Right: for after the Acknowledgment

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of

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of the General Necessity of a Judge, we have nothing further to do, but to agree upon the Judge, and so submit.

SECT. XXIII.

The Three Great Judges of Mankind, are God, Magistrates, and Conscience.

Some Things we do as *Men*; Other Things as *Men in Society*; and *Some* again as *Christians*. In the first place, We are acted by the Law of *Individuals*; which Law, in the *Second* place, is Subjected to that of *Government*; And Both these Laws are, in the *Third* place, Subordinate to That of *Religion*; i. e. The Law of *God's Revealed will*. So that the Three Great Judges of Mankind are God, Magistrates, and Conscience.

Man as Consisting of *Soul*, and *Body*, may be again Subdivided within Himself. Take Him in his *Lower Capacity*, and He is sway'd by the General Law of *Animal Nature*, But in his *Divine* part, you will find Him Govern'd by the Nobler Law of *Refined Reason*; which Reason, in some Cases, we call *Prudence*, and in others *Conscience*, according as it is Variouslly exercised.

The Things which we do purely as *Men* (Abstracted from any Ingredients of Policy, or Regulated Religion) are either *Natural Affections*, *Prudential*, or *Moral*. Of the first sort, are Those Actions to which we are prompted by a *Natural Impulse* in order to the Conservation of *Life*, and *Being*. Of the third sort, are such Actions as we perform in Obedience to *Moral Principles*, (Which are no other, then the *Divine Will*, as it is couched under the Dictate of *Human Reason*) And Between These Two, lies the Region of *Middle Actions*: That is, of Such Actions, as although not of *simple*, and *strict Necessity*, either to *Life*, or *Virtue*, are notwithstanding *Useful*, and *Commodious*, for the *Guidance*, and *Comfort* of the *One*, and for the *Pratise* of the *Other*. The accurat Disquisition of This Interest clears the Main Difficulty of the Question; for nothing has embroyl'd us more, then the *Mistaken Rights*, and *Priviledges* of *Individuals*: Which Mistakes being once made manifest, by laying open the Subordination of several *Claims*, and *Powers*, every Man may take a distinct View of his own Province.

N. C. If you will proceed Regularly, you are to State these Subordinations as you go.

C. Agreed.

C. Agreed; and we are now upon the Rights of Individuals: In which naked Simplicity of Considering *Man*, without any regard of the Ordinary Motions of Providence, in the Order, and Regiment of the World, we shall yet find a *Natural Subordination* within Himself, and the Law of Sense, under the Dominion of the Law of Reason, in the same Subject. These are the Laws which the Apostle calls the Law of his Members, and the Law of his Will. The Former Law (and the less Excellent) is the Law *Sensitive*; which is no other, then the Law of Self-Preservation. (The Supreme Law of Animal Beings, as it is of *Rational* the Lowest) This Law *Sensitive*, is no other than the Manifestation of God in the Creature: for what Sense does, Nature does; and what Nature does, God does.

N. C. But what is That Power all this while, which you call Nature?

C. It is the Ordinary Working of God in all his Creatures: by Virtue of which Divine Impression, and Influence, Every thing is moved to seek the Utmost Perfection whereof it is Capable. As for the Purpose; The Perfection of Man is the Congruity of his Actions with his Reason; which we call *Virtue*. The Perfection of Beasts lies a degree lower: For they are only mov'd by a *Sensual Impulse*, towards what is Convenient for them; and when they have it, They Rest.

N. C. When People are gravell'd, they fly to their Impulses, and Occult Qualities. Where lies the Difference; I beseech you, between Their Impulse, and Our Choice?

C. Their Impulse carries them on through a *Sensitive Search*, not any *Deliberative Discourse*; And there is no Election neither at last: But only the Simple Prosecution of a *Determinate Appetite*, without imagining any Proportion betwixt the Means, and the End.

N. C. But still we find, that there is a Proportion: and the Motion appears to us according to the Method of Reason: and a very Orderly Proceeding from a Question, to a Resolution.

C. Is it Reason, think ye, that makes a Dog follow his Nose, and Hunt for Meat, when he is Hungry? Or will you call it Choice, if he leaves a Tine for a Bone? Now if you ask how this comes about: He is guided by *Instinct* toward the End; and Sense carries him through the Means.

N. C. *But why should the same Process of Means, and the same Application of Causes, be ascribed only to Instinct, in Brutes, and to Reason, in Man?*

C. You are to take notice, that all *Natural Operations* are *Regular*, and *Ordinate*, by what Means soever performed: But it does not follow, because the *Method* is according to *Reason*, that therefore the *Instrument* must be *Reasonable*. But to mind what we are upon.

The *Law of Self-Preservation*, is a *Law* common to *Beasts* with *Men*; but not of *Equal Force*, and *Obligation*: For *Their Sovereign Interest* is *Life*; *Ours* is *Virtue*: And therefore your late Argument for *Defensive Arms*, under Pretense of that Extremity, was but a *Brutish Plea*: For if the Consideration of *Virtue* be not above that of *Life*, Where lies the *Advantage* of *Our Reason*?

N. C. *But when the Death is certain, and the Virtue doubtful, Who shall decide the Point?*

C. In a Case abstracted from the *Ties*, and *Duties* of *Religion*, and *Government*, every *Man's Reason* sits as *Judge* upon his own *Life*. As for Instance; You are in the Hands of *Thieves*, and only this Choice offer'd you, either to take a *False Oath*, or to lose your *Life*. Your *Conscience* tells you, that you must rather *Perish*, then *Forswear* your self, without Violence to a *Superiour Duty*, you are your own *Murderer* if you do not. Thus far I think we are safe, and I suppose agreed, that every *Individual* is to *Govern himself* by his *Natural Conscience*. But when the several *Particulars* come to be bundled up in one *Community*, the Case is otherwise.

N. C. *I am sorry to hear you say That. Why should not every Man be Govern'd by his own Conscience, as well in Consort, as in Solitude, as well in Company, as by Himself? Or will you have it, that our Duty to God ceases in the Act of becoming Subjects to a Civil Power?*

C. As to your *Conscience*, you are as free now, as you were before: But your *Body* is no longer your *Own*, after you are once enrolled a *Member* of a *Society*. And here's the Difference; You were your own *Servant* before, and now you are the *King's*. (For what is *Government*, but the *Wisdom*, *Resolve*, and *Force* of every *Particular*, gather'd into *One Understanding*, *Will*, and *Body*?) And This comes up to what I have already Deliver'd, that, *Whatsoever God has left different, is the Subject of Humane Power*.

N. C. But who shall be Judge of what's Indifferent?

C. Let That be Examined the very next Thing we do.

You are already satisfied, that an *Authorized Judge* is absolutely Necessary, in Order to the Peace of Church; and State, and to the Ending of all Publick differences: But we are not yet resolv'd about Our Judges; Or if we were, yet in regard they are but *Men*, and so may Erre, [*Infallibility being departed with Christ and his Apostles: in lieu of which Living, and Infallible Guides, God has in Providence given us a Plain, and Infallible Rule*] We are now to make Enquiry, how far a Private Judge may be allow'd to Oppose, or differ from a *Publicke*, in Case of a *Reluctant Conscience*, and in some sort to Judge his Judge? Chillingworth's Safe way, p. 104.

N. C. You say very well; For place the Ultimate Decision where you will, It is (as you said before) an Infallible determination as to the Strife; but Not so, as to the Truth; and comes at last to This, that every Man (in some Degree) re-judges his Judge. If I be fully convinc'd, either, that the Command is Sinful in it self, or the Opinion Wicked; I am neither to Obey the One, nor to Embrace the Other; as being tied up by a General Obligation of rather Obeying, and Believing God, then Man. Nay more; If in-Obedience to the Magistrate, I commit a Sin against God, and do it ignorantly too, That very Act in Ignorance is Criminal: (If I had the Means of being better inform'd:) For No Humane Respect can justify an Offence against God. Now if I am bound to do Nothing that is Ill; I am likewise bound, before I do anything, to satisfy my self, whether it be Ill, or No: For otherwise, I may follow a False Religion for a True, and be Damned in the End, for not minding what I did. This do I take for Proof sufficient, that no Man is so Implicitly Obliged to rely upon other Men's Eyes, as totally to Abandon the Direction of his own; Or so unconditionally to swear Obedience to other Mens Laws, and Perswasions; as to hold no Intelligence at all with that Sacred Law, and Faithfull Counsellor which he carries in his own Bosom.

C. I am so far from advising yon to renounce your Reason, that, on the contrary, I would have you absolutely guided, and concluded by it; and only to Obey for Quiet sake, so far as you can possibly Obey in Conscience.

N. C. What if a Single Person hit that Truth, which a General Council misses? Which will you have him follow; Truth or Authority?

C. I

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C. I would have him follow Truth with his Soul, and Authority with his Body. But it is not for so remote a Possibility as This is, to bring the Fancies and Imaginations of a Private Spirit into a Competition with Resolutions of Law, And yet for the Possibility sake, We'll take the very Supposition likewise into Consideration, and Word the whole Matter as plainly as we can.

The Church says, Ye may Do; And the Law says, You must Do, That which your Conscience says, You ought not to Do. How will you reconcile your Duty, and your Conscience in This Case?

N. C. Very well: For I think it my Duty to Obey my Conscience, upon This Principle, That Conscience is God's Substitute over Individuals.

C. Keep to That, and Answer me once again; Is not the Civil Magistrate God's Substitute too? If He be, How comes your Conscience to take place of his Authority? They are Both Commission'd alike, and consequently, Both to be Obey'd alike: Which is Impossible, where their Commands are Inconsistent.

N. C. The Magistrate is a Publique Minister, and his Commission does not reach to Particular Consciences.

C. And on the Other side, You are a Private Person, and there is as little Reason for your Opinion to Operate upon a Publique Law. So that if I mistake you not, we are upon accord thus far; That every Particular is to look to One, and the King to the Whole.

Now if you would deal as Candidly with me, about the Ecclesiastical Power as you have done in the Civil, we might make short work of This Question. I hope you will not deny that the Church is as well (a) Authorized to Teach, and Instruct in all the External Acts of Worship, as (b) the Magistrate is to Compel to Those External Acts.

N. C. There is no Doubt, (c) The Church (as the Church) has Ministerial Power (Ex Officio) to Define Controversies, according to the Word of God; And that (d) A Synod Lawfully Convinc'd, is a Limited, Ministerial, and Bounded Visible Judge, and to be believed in, so far as they follow Christ, the Peremptory and Supreme Judge, speaking in his own Word.

(a) Ruben-
fords Due
Rights of
Presbyt.

p. 356.

(b) Ibid.

p. 352.

(c) Ibid.

p. 407.

(d) Ibid.

p. 415.

C. This

C. This will not do our Business yet; for to say, that a Synod is to be believed in, So Far as it follows Christ, seems to make Those the Judges of That Act, that are to be Concluded by it; and leaves the Credit of the Authority, dependent upon the Conscience, Fancy, or Humour of the Believer. For 'tis but any Man's saying, that the Synod does not follow Christ, and that he trusts in it so far as it does follow Him. And this is enough to keep the Controverſie afoot, without any hope of Decision.

N. C. We are indeed to believe Truths determined by Synods, *Rutherford.* to be Infallible, and never again liable to Retraction, or Discussion; *Free Disp.* Not because [*so says the Synod,*] but because [*so says the Lord.*] *p. 36.*

C. Still you are short; for 'tis not in our Power to disbelieve what we acknowledge to be a Truth: But that which is Truth at the Fountain, may be Corrupted in the Passage; Or at least appear so to Me, and What then?

N. C. It must be look'd upon as an Errour of the Conscience; which is no Discharge at all of your Obedience: From which Errour you are to be reclaimed, either by Instruction, or Censure. For the People *ib. p. 27.* are obliged to Obey Those that are over Them in the Lord, who Watch for their Souls, as those who must give an Accompt;] And not oblig'd to stand to, and obey the Ministerial and Official Judgment of the People. He that Heareth You (Ministers of the Gospel, not the People) Heareth Me; And he that despiseth You, Despiseth Me.

C. Why should not We Two shake Hands now, and Joyn in the Act for Uniformity? You cannot say, that it wants any thing of the full Complement of a Binding Law; Either in regard of the Civil, or of the Ecclesiastical Authority. Here is first, the Judgment of the Church duly convinc'd, touching the Meanness, and Convenience of the Rites, and Forms therein contained. You have next, the Royal Sanction, Approving, and Authorizing Those Rites, and Forms; and Requiring your Exact Obedience to them. Now so it is, that you can neither Decline the Authority of your Judges, nor the Acknowledgment of your Duties; What is it then that hinders your Obedience?

N. C. That which to Me is more than all the World, Is goes against my Conscience.

C. Only

C. Only That Point then, and we have done with This Subject.

We have already concluded, that *God* is the Judge of the World; That the *Church* is the Judge of what properly concerns Religion; That the *Civil Magistrate* is Judge of what belongs to *Publick Order*, and *Peace*; and That every *Man's Conscience* is the Judge of what concerns his own *Soul*. The Remaining Difficulty is This; *How I am to behave my self in a Case, where the Law bids me do One Thing, and my Conscience Another.*

To take a True Estimate of This Matter, We are first to Ballance the Two Interests, that meet in Competition; The *One*, for the *Law*, and the *Other*, against it.

There is, in Favour, and for the Execution of the *Law* (meaning That of *Uniformity*) 1. The *Personal Conscience*, and 2. The *Political Conscience* of the *King*. There is moreover, for the *Equity* of it, the *Solemn and Deliberate Judgment* of the *Church*; which is, effectually, the *Publick Conscience*; and lastly, for the *Observance* of it, There is the *Duty* of the *Subject*, which, if it be withdrawn, does not only Invalidate This *Particular Act*, but it loosens the *Sinews* of *Sovereign Authority*; and which is more, it destroys even a *Divine Ordinance*; For take away *Obedience*, and *Government* lapses into *Confusion*.

Now for the Counterpoise; Against This *Law*, and Thus Supported, appears your *Naked Conscience*. Nay, That's the *Fairest* on't; it may be worse, and in Truth, any thing that's *Ill*, under That Name.

N. C. But what's the World to Me; in the Scale against my Soul?

C. You have great Reason sure, and 'tis no more then every *Man* may challenge: That is, to *Stand*, or *Fall*, to his own *Conscience*: Is that your Principle?

N. C. Yes, out of Doubt; 'tis Mine, and Yours, and any *Man's* that's *Honest*.

C. Well; Hold yea little; Your *Conscience* will not down with This *Law*; and This *Law* will as little down with your *Conscience*. Weigh now the *Good* against the *Bad*; What if it stands? What if it yields? Make the Case worse then it is; as *Bad* as *Bad* may be, in your own Favour. You cannot comply with the *Law*; And the *Law* will not stoop to You. What follows upon it?

N. C.

N. C. *The Ruine of many Godly People, that desire to Worship God, according to his Word.*

C. That Plea wrought little upon You from Us; but let that pass. What sort of Ruine do you mean? Ruine of Liberty, or Estate? (For this Law draws no Blood) State your Misfortunes, I beseech ye.

N. C. *No Man must Hold a Benefice or Teach a School, but upon Terms of such Subscription, or Acknowledgment, as many an honest Man would rather Die then Consent to: So that We are Distrest, not only for Our Selves, as being deprived of the Comfort of all Spiritual, and Heavenly Freedoms: But Our poor Infants are exposed to be Undone, wanting the Means of a Religious Education.*

C. If This be All, never Trouble your selves; for many an honest Man has out-liv'd more then this comes to. In short; There's a huge Clamour; but (God knows) with little Reason. Some Particulars will possibly suffer for want of a Toleration; and who are They; but the Profest Opposers of the Law? And on the Other side, All the Friends of the Government will suffer by it.

If you would see the Event of Granting what you ask, Turn but your Face toward—41, and then Blush, and Repent. Besides; You're not aware, that in Contesting with the Law, you Quarrel with your self: There's Your own Vote against You; and all this Muttering, is no other then your Faction's Will, wrangling with your Political Consent. And yet I say, Stick to your Conscience: Let us now put the Case of a Real Distance, betwixt This Act, and your Conscience. How will you divide your Duty?

N. C. *I'll follow your Advice, and stick to my Conscience.*

C. Now change Hands, and make your self the Supreme Magistrate. He has a Double Conscience; One that concerns Himself; the Other, his People.

What his Majesties Personal Judgment is, has been Declared Abundantly; What his Prudential Judgment may dispose Him to, lies in His Royal Breast. But be That as Heaven shall Order it. Here's the Partition of your Rights: The King's Prerogative has nothing to do with your Conscience; and your Conscience has as little to do with His Majesties Prerogative. The King is Accomptable to God for the Welfare of his People; and You are only Accomptable to God for

Toleration Disen's d.

the Good of your little *Parliament*. If you cannot Obey the Law, Do not: But abide the *Penalty*. If the *Sovereign* cannot Relax the Law, He's as Free to Execute it. Your *Conscience* requires *Liberty*, and your *Governour's* *Conscience* requires *Order*. Now why you should expect, that your *Sovereign* should bring down His *Conscience* to Yours, when you find upon *Experiment*, that you cannot persuade Your Own to come up to His, is to me a *Mystery*. To Conclude, Keep your self, within your *Sphere*; and where you cannot Consent, as a *Christian*, *Submiss*, as a *Subject*, that We may at last hope for some Respite from the Calamities of *Sedition*, and *Schism*.

N. C. And why not Scandal, and Profaneness too? For the Edge of your Severity might be directed to much better Purpose That way.

SECT. XXIV.

The Church of England charges the Non-Conformists with Schism, and the Non-Conformists charge those of the Church with Scandal. The Matter is taken into Debate.

N. C. YOUR Position is, That no Toleration is to be admitted, to the Hazard of Religion, Good Life, and Government. Keep to That Standard, and you will find that the Conformists have as little Pretense to a Toleration as their Neighbours: and that the Notorious Scandal on the one side, outweighs the Objected Schism on the other.

Scobels
Acts, par. 1
p. 340.

C. This will scarce hold, if you come to be Try'd by your own Laws: which make it a Matter of Scandal, by Writing, Preaching, or otherwise, to publish a Disaffection to the Present Government. But Explain your self.

N. C. By Scandal, I mean Habitual Prophaneness, Sensuality, Dissolution of Manners, &c. As by Schism, I suppose you intend our Incompliances with your Church Discipline. Weigh These Two now, One against the Other, and do you your self hold the Balance. Set up your Tavern Clubs against our Conventicles; Oppose your Combinations against God Himself, to our Plots against the Government, For you must not take to Ill, if I tell ye, that Atheism is become the Sport, and Salt of your most Celebrated Entertainments. And when you have dash'd the Bible out of Countenance, with the Story of the Three Grand

Imposturs,

Imposturs, or some such Lashing Piece of Drillery, The Questioning of God's Over-ruling Wisdom, by Solemn Arguments, and the Placing of Fortune in the Throne of Providence is that which commonly Crowns your Conversations.

C. You should not charge Personal Crimes upon a Party, unless you can prove them to be rationally consequent to the Tenets, and *Actions* of That Party. Now if you can shew me any *Affinity* betwixt our Principles, and These Impieties, you say something: But if you cannot, The Dust of your Argument puts out your own Eyes. I do not wonder, I must confess, to see a Nation Over-run with *Atheism*, that has been so many Years under your Tuition: or to find the *Brat* of a *Conventicle* laid at the Church-Door.

N. C. May not We charge Personal Extravagancies upon your Party as well as You do upon Ours?

C. Yes: If you can prove the same Agreement against Us, betwixt the *Faults* of the One, and the Principles of the Other, which we are able to justify against You.

The Episcopal Party, you know, stood for the King; and it is undeniable, that the King, and Church had the same Cause and Fate. It is as unquestionable on the other side, that the Non-Conformists destroy'd both the One, and the Other: Not by Accident neither, but by a Form'd, and Excogitated Design, wrap'd up, and couch'd in the very Mystery, and Foundation of the Schism; Your Separation from a Communion with the Church, resolving naturally into a Combination against the Entire Frame of the Government; till in the End, by the help of a Painful, and Well-affected Ministry, the Generality of the People were Preach'd into this Division, [i. e.] Those that could not reach the *Chear*, were taught to Scruple at Every Thing; and Those that went along with it, to make a Conscience of Nothing. And this is it, that has brought us to be so Pester'd with *Enthusiasts* and *Atheists*.

N. C. But let me tell ye again, the *Atheists* are of the Other Party.

C. And let me enform you too, that your Proceedings have made *Atheists*, more ways then One.

First, The meer Quality of your Cause has made *Atheism* the Interest of a great many of your Partakers; who, to put off the Thought of a Divine Vengeance attending them, if there be a God, Endeavour

(for their own Quiet) to perswade themselves that there is no God at all.

Essay of
Atheism.

Secondly, The Work has been carried on under the Masque of *Holiness*: and the most *Desperate Atheist* is nothing else but a *Crusht Hypocrite*. I speak of your *Religious Atheist*, who has This Odds of the *Prophane*, and *Scorning Wretch*, that he abuses God to his *Fast*, and in his own *House*. The Great *Atheists*, indeed are *Hypocrites* (says Sir Francis Bacon) which are ever handling Holy Things, but without Feeling; so as they must needs be *Cauteriz'd* in the End.

It is Remarquable (as I have elsewhere recommended to your Observation) that in the Holy Scripture there are not so many Woes pronounced, nor so many Cautions inculcated against any sort of People, as against *Hypocrites*. You shall there find that God has given the Grace of Repentance to *Persecutors*, *Idolaters*, *Murderers*, *Adulterers* &c. But I am mistaken if the whole Bible yields any one Instance of a *Converted Hypocrite*.

Thirdly, You have done more in your *Practises*, toward the Vindication of *Atheism*, then all that ever went before ye: and he that overlooks our Story, from 1640, to 1660, will find matter, not only to stagger a Weak Christian, but to put a Wiseman to a Second Thought, and make him Exclaim with the Prophet; [*Lo, These are the Ungodly, These Prosper in the World, and These have Riches in Possession. Then have I cleansed my Heart in vain, and washed my Hands in Innocency.*]

To see the same Men, *Swearing* to day, with their Hands lifted up unto the Lord, in a Holy covenant, to Defend and Preserve his Majesties Person: And a while after, with the same Consecrated Lips, blessing that *Cursed Vote*, that manifestly led to his Destruction. (The Vote of Non-Addresses) To see *Ministers*, like so many *Pulpit-Weather-cocks*, shifting from Party to Party, till they have run through every Point of the Compass: *Swearing* and *Counter-Swearing*: And when the City was split into more *Factions* then *Parishes*, still to maintain, that the whole *Schism* was Acted by the Holy Ghost. To find the *Pulpit* Trading only in dark, and *Oraculous Delusions*, instead of plain, and saving Truths; and the Pretended *Messengers* of Peace, turn'd *Agents* for Blood: to hear, and see all this, and More, and the Cause Prosper too, What could the Invention of Man add more to this Temptation to *Apostasy*?

Lastly; Your *Necessitated Toleration*, (*Necessitated* I say; for you could never have Crush'd the Government without it) started so many lewd Opinions, that it was some Degree of *Modesty*, for

of a worse choice, e'en to be of *No Religion at all*: And without Dispute, many People finding it left so indifferent, of *what Religion* they were, became Themselves as Indifferent whether they were of *Any*, or *No*. So that the Scandal which you would spitefully fasten upon the *Persons of some of our Party*, is found to be *Radical*, and *Constitutional*, in the very *Elements of yours*. Neither is it All, that your *Imputation* is *misplaced*; but I am afraid you'll find your self in *Another Mistake*.

Which of the Two do you account the more Tolerable; *Scandal*, or *Schism*?

N. C. *If by Schism you mean A Refusal to joyn with that Church, where I cannot Communicate without Sin; And if by Scandal you intend such Actions as are of evil Example, and minister Occasions to our Neighbour, of Falling. I think 'tis easily Determin'd that the One is not to be suffer'd, and the Other not to be condemn'd.*

C. I do not speak of this or that sort or degree of *Schism*, and *Scandal*; but in the just Latitude, both of the *One*, and the *Other*. That is to say, (without more Circumstance) Which do you take for the more Tolerable Mischief of the Two?

N. C. *Truly, betwixt a Perverse Separation, and a Notorious Scandal, I think the Choice is hard; but I rather incline against the Scandal.*

C. Now, if ye will believe Sir Francis Bacon, *Schism* is *Both*; [*Heresies, and Schisms (says he) are of all others, the greatest Scandals; yea more then Corruption of Manners.*] Effect of
Unity of
Religion.

Consider it, as it stands in Opposition to *Unity* (which is the Bond both of *Religion*, and *Society*.) What can be more *Scandalous*, then that which renders *Religion*, *Ridiculous*? and that's the Effect of *Schism*. To see so many *Sects*, grinning one upon another, and yet *All Pretending to the same One*, and *Infallible Spirit*. Beside, that *Schism* seldom or never goes alone; and in Truth, it is but *Sedition*, in a *Disguise*: For we find, that our *Scrupulous Dissenters*, can with much *Ease*, and *Unity*, Agree in a *War*, though not in a *Ceremony*.

N. C. *And may there not be Conspiracies in Scandal, as well as in Schism? There, with an Evident Design to bring Contempt upon Religion.*

gion: Whereas Here, we find at least a Colour, and Pretense to uphold it. *Further, the Sins which accompany Scandalous, are many of them Levell'd in the Prerogative of God Himself; and in short, the Question is not, properly, and simply, between Schism, and Scandal; but between Schism, and all other Sins whatsoever, that may be Propagated by Conversation; (for That's the Nature of Scandal.)*

Again, let me observe from your own Mouths, that Heresies are Scandals; and several Heresies you know, both by the *Names* of God, and Man, are Punish'd with Death: He that Blasphemeth the Name of the Lord, shall be put to Death. From whence you may gather some Differences, betwixt the *Heinousness* of the One, and of the Other.

Num. 24.
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C. You will proceed by a very Uncertain Rule, to measure the Sin by the Punishment: for Political Laws regard rather Publick Conveniences, then Particular Cases of Conscience. A Man shall lose his Life for Picking a Pocket; and but hazzard his Ears for a False Oath.

But if you'll refer the Matter to the Just, and Infalible Judge of all the World, to God Himself; look but into that Dreadful Judgment upon the Schism of Korah. Korah, Dathan, &c. rose against Moses, with Two hundred and Fifty Captains of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and said unto them, [Ye take too much upon You, since all the Congregation is Holy, even every One of them, and the Lord is among them. [Wherefore then lift ye your selves above the

[Congregation of the Lord?]] [And what follow'd?]] The Earth open'd her Mouth, and swallow'd them up with their Families, and all the Men that were with Korah, &c. A Fire came out from the Lord, and Consumed the Two Hundred and Fifty Men that Offer'd the Incense. This set the Multitude a muttering against Moses and Aaron; saying, [Ye have killed the People of the Lord.] See now what came of this. Verse 49. Muttering to: [Fourteen Thousand Seven Hundred of them were consumed by a Plague.]

You have here, not only a Dreadful Instance of Gods Wrath against Schism; but against a Schism also, carry'd on, in the Style of our present Non-Confession. [Two Hundred and Fifty Captains of the Assembly, Famous in the Congregation;] Which Our English Translation renders, An Intelligent, sober sort of Men, Numerous among the Ranks, &c. These rose against Moses and Aaron, and said unto Them, Ye take too much upon You. The Congregation is Holy, and the Lord is among Them. Wherefore do ye lift your selves above the Congregation of the Lord? What is This, but the

Disc. of
Relig.
p. 25.

Language of Our Age, the common Objection against the Bishops, Lording it over God's Heritage. The Consequences I leave before you.

N. C. Give me leave now to pass an Observation upon your whole Discourse. You seem to have been very Punctual, and Methodical in the Distribution of the Parts of it. A Toleration, or No Toleration, was the Question. An Universal Toleration you found too Wide; A Limited Toleration too Narrow; and yet after all This, your Opinion was, that a Toleration under such and such Modifications, and Restrictions might be admitted: Upon which Terms, I was content to come to an Issue with You. Now, since This Tender of a Compliance, You have not proceeded, Methinks, with that Candour which I expected from You. But the Main Stress of your Argument lies against the Whole Party of the Non-Conformists; And (in effect) against any Toleration at all: with little or no Regard to those Accommodable Points, that might have brought the Matter in Difference to some sort of Composure.

C. It is very True, That I am utterly against Toleration of the Whole Party, as a Thing of Certain Inconvenience, to Religion, and Government; and to the Ruine, no less of your selves; then of the Publique. Will Presbytery ever satisfie the Independents Conscience? Or will Liberty any better suit with the Presbyterians? And yet you could both of you joyn with the Directory, against the Common-Prayer; with the Authority of the Pretended Assembly, against that of the Church; wherein you have given Proof to the World, that you were not United upon any Consideration of Conscience, but with a Design upon a Common Booty. Ye overturn'd the Government, Divided the Spoil, Enrich't your selves, Embroiled every thing, and Settled Nothing. And yet in those Days there was no Act of Uniformity to hinder you.

This is enough to make Evident, that the Non-Conformists are Intolerable, in Conjunction: But if you think fit to 'make a Tryal, how far any sort of them may agree with our Standard of Toleration, Apart, Plead you the Cause of the Presbyterians, and let your Brother Independent here, (that has been a witness to our whole Debate) take up the Cudgels for his own Party; Not forgetting, that

In the Question of Toleration, the Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be Secur'd.

N. C. According to what Latitude are we to understand that which you call the Foundation of Faith?

C. According

Coiling-
words
Safe Way,
p. 186.

C. According to the Latitude of the *Apostles Creed*; wherein are contained *All the Articles of Simple Faith, which are Necessary to be Explicitly Believed.*] And whatsoever was found by Them, to be *Necessary, and Sufficient to Salvation*, continues so still, and ought to be so *Received, and Acknowledged by Us*: without insisting upon *Deductions, and Consequences*, as Points of *Prime, and Fundamental Necessity*; though *Occasionally, and Obliquely*, they become Necessary too. *This is the Word of Faith which we Preach, that if thou shalt Confess with thy Mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy Heart, the God hath raised him from the Dead, thou shalt be saved. Here's the Foundation of Faith: And in that of Good Life, respect is to be had to Morality, that nothing be Tolerated to the Encouragement of Looseness, Sensuality, and Dissolution of Manners.*

Rom 10.8

As there is an *Absolute Necessity* of Providing against *Doctrines and Opinions* of this Quality: so I think there will be no great *Difficulty*, either of *Discovering, or of Suppressing* them: For they are of a Condition so *Notorious*, that they lie open to all People: and then so *Odious* they are, by reason of the *Gross Impiety, and Scandal*: that they have no *Friends* upon the Face of the Earth, (for their *own sakes I mean*) but the protest *Enemies of Christianity, and Nature.* (It is another Case, when they are made use of in *Subserviency to a Faction.*) So that you may save your selves the *Trouble of Catechizing* your Brethren upon these two Points, and rather spend your Time upon the remaining Caution, for *Securing the Government*: which will be much more to Our Purpose; For the Matter we are now upon, is a Question, rather of *Policy*, than of *Religion*.

Toleration Discuss'd,
BETWIXT A
PRESBYTERIAN
AND AN
INDEPENDENT.

SECT. XXV.

Upon a Short and Impartial Survey of the Rise, Progress, and Issue of the War, rais'd by the Two Houses in 1641, The Presbyterians are found to be more Criminal than the Independents.

Presb. **I**N all our Arguments, and Pleas for Toleration, we are still hit in the Teeth, (as in Bar to our Demands) with Dangerous Practises, and Opinions; The Murther of the Late King; The Overturning of the Government; and that we have a mind to serve the Son, as we did the Father. Now forasmuch as the Fact is Undeniable; and truly the Exception but Reasonable, as to those that did it; We are first to clear our selves of that Execrable Fact; wherein I am content to become an Undertaker for the Presbyterians) and to speak afterward, to the Justification of our Principles, and Opinions.

Indep. Give me leave then to Plead the Cause of the Independents; and to observe to you, in the first place, that the Scotch Non-Conformists under King James were Totally Presbyterians: and so were the English Puritans under Queen Elizabeth.

Presb. Were the Anabaptists, Familists, and Brownists, that started up in Two Days, Presbyterians?

Indep. Some Dutch Anabaptists came over indeed in 1640, but one Proclamation scatter'd them immediately. And then the

Toleration Discuss'd.

Familists, and Brownists, you speak of; Alas! They gave the Executioner more Trouble than the Government, and were suppress'd as soon as Detected. But the Formal, and United Confederacy was still Presbyterian; and you must overthrow all the Memorials, and Records of those Times to gaintay it. Briefly; If you look forward, you will find the Presbyterians again under King James, at Hampton Court; The Presbyterians again, in the several Parliaments under King Charles the First; and so the same Hand still, to the beginning of the Scottish Broils in 1637. Which was the Midwifery of the Plot, they had been so long a Hammering.

Presb. You make nothing is seems of the Turbulent Independents, that went away to New England, Holland, and other Parts beyond the Seas, with all the Clamour, and Rancour Imaginable against the Government.

Indep. Not to Justifie them in their Clamour; I must yet recommend their departure, as a fair Testimony that they withdrew upon Conscience. For by this Secession, they put themselves out of Condition to carry on a Faction: Whereas the Presbyterians, that had a further Design in Prospect, stood their Ground, watch'd their Advantages, and gain'd their End.

Presb. All this is but Talk, without Proof.

Indep. It will be granted, I suppose, that the Scottish Tumults in 1637. and the Rebellion upon the neck of them, in 1638. were advanc'd upon a Presbyterian accompt: and consequently, that those of the same Leven, that Voted them Good Subjects, and Money for their pains, and Adopted them their Dear Brethren for so doing.

Were not the Principals of the Faction in the Long Parliament, every Man of them Presbyterian? Were not the Army, and Assembly, Presbyterian; And all their Votes, Actions, and Conclusions Influenc'd accordingly? Who were they that Invited the Scots into England the Second time; (Nov 7. 1642.) That Impos'd the Covenant; Prosecuted the War, under the Countenance of it; and made it the Test of Discrimination, betwixt the Malignant, and Well Affected Parties: That Settled the Directory, Nay the Presbytery it self? Were not These Presbyterians?

Who were they, but Presbyterians, that stripp't the King of his Regalities, and Revenues; Commission'd an Army against him; Fought him, Pursu'd him; and in fine brought him to utter Ruine?

Presb.

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Presb. You will find the Late King of another Opinion, in his Grand Declaration, of Aug. 12. 1642. where he complains of the Tumultuous Assemblies of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Schismatics. Ex. Coll. p. 532.

Indep. But still you will find in the same Page, that these very People were Animated, and Countenanced, by Presbyterians; and Acted, as the Creatures, and Servants, of that Interest.

Presb. Can you say that the English or Scottish Presbyters did ever go about to Dissolve Monarchy? Interest of Eug. p. 44.

Indep. Yes: And I do aver, that the Nineteen Propositions of June 2. 1642. were as much a Dissolution of Kingly Government, as the very Act it self (of March 17. 1648.) for Abolishing it. And the Uxbridge Propositions were to the same purpose. Ex. Coll. p. 307.

Presb. You know very well, that after the New Modelling of the Army, the Presbyterians were able to do nothing; and this was a good while before the King went to the Scots. Scobels Act. par. 6 p. 7.

Indep. Let us see then how the Presbyterians behaved themselves, after his Majesty cast himself into the Protection of the Scotch Army before Newark, in May, 1646.

Notice was Immediately given of it, to the Two Houses, by the Commissioners of the Army; Importing their Adherence to the Covenant, and Treaty; and that they had no fore-knowledge of his Majesties Coming. The English Army presently March'd with 1000. Horse, and Dragoons, toward Newark; and our Brethren fairly re-treated with the Prey in the Foot toward Newcastle. After This, Both Parties stood at Gaze for several Months; but not without a world of tedious Papers; betwixt the Scotch Commissioners, and the Two Houses, touching their Joynt Right in Disposing of the Person of the King. But in the Conclusion, the Presbyterians Compounded the Controversie for the Sum of 400000 l. In May they took their Sovereign into their Protection; In the December following, they Sold him; and in February they Deliver'd him up; And all This. According to their COVENANT.

Presb. They must needs Deliver him up, when they could Keep him no longer.

Indep. They had at that time the City of London to Friend; a Balancing Vote in the House of Commons; a Considerable Mixture in the Army; Scotland behind them; (Entire, if ever the Kings Interest came in Play) And at least Ten Thousand Men in a Body. (The Royal Party over and above.) So that here was no visible Force to overawe them: And London himself acknowledged as much, at a Conference (Octob. 6. 1646.) If any such Course shall be taken (says he) or any Demand made for Rendering of his Person, which cannot stand with his Honour, and Safety; or which cannot consist with our Duty, Allegiance, and Covenant; nor with the Honour of That Army, to whom (in time of his Extreme Danger) he had his Recourse for Safety: It cannot be Expected that we can be Capable of So Base An Act: And if (to shun this, and avoid occasion of Quarrelling between the Kingdoms) he shall go to Scotland, and resent his Expulsion out of England; and crave the Assistance of That Kingdom for Recovery of his Right to This Crown: He may in a short time, raise such Forces in Scotland, and Ireland, as with the Assistance of Forreign Princes, these Kingdoms may be made a Field of Blood, &c.

Answe'r to the Vote of Sep. 24. 1646. By This it appears Evidently, that they were under no Necessity of Delivering the King: And you may now see their Opinion of the Action it self. [If it be contrary (say the Scotch Commissioners) to the Law, and Common Practise of Nations, to Deliver up the meane'st Subject fled to them, though it be for the Greatest Crimes; How much more would the World abroad condemn our Army, for a Base Dishonourable Act, if they should Deliver up their Head, and Sovereign, (having cast himself into their Hands) to be Disposed of at the Arbitrament of another Nation!

Presb. But yet you saw that they Condition'd for his Honour, Freedom, and Safety.

Indep. That's a Shuffle: For upon such Terms did they render him, that they might have cast a Sheep into a Herd of Wolves, with as much Confidence, and Likelihood of Safety. You are here to distinguish the Faction of Scotland, from the Nation: No Country affording greater Instances of Honour, and Loyalty. Nay, I have heard (even on This Occasion) that upon the Kings Earnest Desire to go for Scotland, it was carried in the Negative but by Two Voices.

Presb. Can you Imagine, that if they had apprehended any danger to his Royal Person, they would not have ventur'd their Lives a thousand times over, to have sav'd him?

Indep.

Indep. No, no: But on the Contrary; They foresaw the Danger debated it; and yet expos'd him: Nay, which is still worse, they reserv'd him for it. Were not his Majesties Friends kept from him, by a strict Order, at Newcastle? Was he not Spied, and Guarded, for fear of an Escape? And upon Information, that He intended one, was not a narrower Watch set over him?

That they foresaw the Danger, is confess'd by the Chancellor Himself. *Lest we should walk in the Dark,* (says he) *upon Obscurity of Ambiguous Words, I shall desire that the Word of [Disposing of the Kings Person,] may be rightly understood. For Dolus versatur in Universalibus.* For to Dispose of the Person of the King, as Both Houses or Both Kingdoms shall think fit, may in some sense be to Depose or Worse. And in a Speech to his Majesty, he goes yet further. If your Majesty (says he) shall refuse to assent to the Propositions; (which God forbid) you will lose all your Friends, lose the City, and the Country; and all England will joyn against you as one Man: And (when all hope of Reconciliation is past) it is to be feared they will Process, and Depose you, and set up another Government. Upon your Majesties refusing the Propositions, both Kingdoms will be Constrained (for their mutual Safety) to Agree, and Settle Religion, and Peace without you: which (to our unspeakable Grief) will ruine your Majesty, and your Posterity. And if your Majesty reject our Faithful Advice, and lose England by your Willfulness, your Majesty will not be permitted to come and ruine Scotland.

Presb. These Propositions, I suppose, were of Absolute Necessity to the Well-Being of the Publique; they would never have been brought in Competition else with the Kings Freedom, Life, and Dignity.

Indep. The King was first to Justifie the Proceedings of the Two Houses, and to deliver up to Death, Beggery, and Infamy his Whole Party.

2. To Settle the Militia of England and Ireland, in the Hands of the Parliament for Twenty Years; giving them Authority to raise Men, and Moneys.

3. To make void all Honours since 1642. and no Peers admitted for the future, to Sit and Vote in Parliament, but by Consent of Both Houses, who were likewise to dispose of all Great Places, and Offices of Honour, in England and Ireland.

4. His Majesty was to Swear, and Sign the Covenant, and Command the taking of it throughout the Three Kingdoms; Abolishing Episcopacy,

Toleration Discus'd.

copacy, and settling Religion in Both Houses should Agree,

Upon his Majesties Refusal to Sign These Propositions, the Scotch Declaration of Jan. 1646. tells us, That there will be a Joynt Course taken by Both Kingdoms concerning his Majesties Person.—With Respect had to the Safety, and Preservation of his Royal Person, In the Preservation, and Defence of the True Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms—According to the Covenant. And According to the Covenant, His Majesties Person was Disposed of.

Presb. And do you believe that the Two Houses would have used the King any better, if he had gone to Them.

They made it Treason Immediately, and Death without Mercy, for any Man to Harbour, and Conceal the Kings Person; upon a Supposition, that his Majesty was then in London. This was the fourth of May; and on the sixth, the Commons Voted him to Warwick Castle: which was Unvoted again upon the ninth. In June, the Kings going to the Scots, was Voted, A Design to Prolong the War. And this was as much the Action of the Independents, as the Other was of the Presbyterians.

Indep. Pardon me there, I beseech ye. You see by the Voting Back and Forward, that the House of Commons was upon a hard Tug, but the Scottish Party was totally Presbyterian.

But will you hear the Kirk speak for it self, after the putting of the King into English Hands? They Exhort their Covenanted Brethren, (the Assembly at Westminster) to hold fast their Solemn League and Covenant: to entertain a Brotherhood, and Unity between the Nations, (Feb. 12. 1646.) (but not a Syllable of the King.) Again, (June 18. 1647.) The General Assembly of the Kirk, presses the Two Houses to a speedy Establishment of the Presbytery: (but not a Word again of his Majesty.) And in truth, their Silence is a Favour, considering how they order him, when they speak of him: As you may observe in a Resolve of theirs, upon a Question Debated at Edinburgh.

If the King be Excluded from Government in England, for not Granting the Propositions concerning Religion, and the Covenant; and for not giving a Satisfactory Answer to the Remanent Propositions: Whether in That Case it be Lawful for this Kingdom to assist him, for the Recovery of the Government, or whether it be not Lawful?

Being put to it, We cannot but Answer, in regard of the Engagement of This Kingdom, by Covenant, and Treaty, Negative.

Resolved

Resolved upon the Question,

1. *That the Kingdom of Scotland, shall be Governed as it hath been these last Five Years; All Means being used, that the King might take the Covenant, and Pass the Propositions.*
2. *That the taking of the Scots Covenant, and Passing some of the Propositions, doth not give Warrant to assist him against England.*
3. *That upon bare taking the National Covenant, we may not receive him.*
4. *That the Clause in the Covenant, for Defence of the Kings Person, is to be understood, in Defence, and Safety of the Kingdoms.*
5. *That the King shall not Execute any Power in the Kingdom of Scotland, until such time that he hath Granted the Propositions concerning Religion, and the Covenant; and given a Satisfactory Answer to Both Kingdoms in the rest of the Propositions, presented to him by both Kingdoms at Newcastle.*
6. *That if his Majesty refuse to Pass the Propositions, he shall be disposed of according to the Covenant, and Treaty.*
7. *That the Union be firmly kept between the Kingdoms, according to the Covenant, and the Treaties.*

Here's *Presbyterian Loyalty*: If the King would have consented to give up his Crown; Blast his Conscience; Betray his Trust, and Sacrifice his Friends; he might perchance have been allow'd the Pageantry of a Court, and some *Mock-Properties* of Royalty: but upon other Terms, the Kirk you see gives him no Quarter.

The King is now under the Care of his new *Governours*; *Holdenby* is his Prison; The Question is matter of *Church-Government*; and his Majesty is prest to an *Alteration*. Some two Months are spent in the fruitless Desires, and Expectations of his *Chaplains*, for his Advice, and Comfort; and any Two (of Twelve in Nomination) would satisfy his Majesty. But *That could not be*; (they said) No, not a *Common-Prayer-Book* for his own Private Use. These were the *Presbyterians* still.

Upon the fourth of June 1647. *Cornet Joyce*, with a Party of Horse took the King from *Holdenby*; under colour of preventing other Secret Designs upon the Person of his Majesty. The next day, at a *Rendezvous* near *Newmarket*, was Read, and Signed the *Armies Engagement*: complaining of the *Two Houses*, and in Particular of a Vote they had Pass'd for *Disbanding* the Army. (Where Note, that the *Houses* were still *Presbyterian*) the Sum of their Engagement was:
That

That they would Disband, upon full Satisfaction received, and not without it. This Liberty was menag'd all this while, with much Formality of Duty, and Respect: the Houses at every turn advertis'd concerning the Kings Motions: and (June the 9th) consulted how further to Dispose of his Majesty. Some three days after, the Army drew toward London, and Alarm'd the City: (contrary to an Express Order of the Houses, the very day before) A months Pay was their Errand, and to save Carriage, they made a step from Royston to St. Albans to receive it.

On June the 15. out comes a Terrible Representation, with Desires from the Army, Against all Arbitrary Powers, and Interests whatsoever: Pleading the Presbyterian Presidents, and the Principles of the Two Houses in their Justification.

The Parliament (say they) hath Declar'd it no Resisting of Magistracy, to side with the Just Principles, and Law of Nature, and Nations; (being that Law upon which we have assisted you) and that the Soul-diery may Lawfully hold the Hands of the General, who will turn his Cannon upon his Army, on purpose to destroy them. They Demanded, the Purging of the Houses, and Retrenching the Power of Committees; an account for Publique Moneys; A Period of the Present Session, and Limits for the Future, &c.

It could not chuse but Gall the Two Houses, to see their Throats cut with their own Weapons: but still they kept up their Greatness of Pretense, and Stile; and by an Order as Imperative as ever, they commanded the Placing of his Majesty at Richmond; in Order to a Treaty, forsooth, for a Safe, and Well-grounded Peace, But the Army had another Game to play; However, what the Presbyterians would have done upon that Occasion, may be seen in what they did afterward, at the Issue of Wight, in his Majesties last Distress, and Extremity.

Presb. You are willing I find, to pass over the Barbarism of the Independents toward his Majesty, while they had him at Hampton-Court; but there is enough yet behind, to make that Faction Odious to all Eternity.

Indep. Truly no: but I would not spin out a Debate to the length of a History; as to the Barbarisms you speak of, let his Majesty Himself be heard.

Colonel Whaley, I have been so civilly used by You, and Major Huntington, that I cannot but by this parting Farewell, acknowledge it under my Hand. NOV. 11. 1647. And again; from Carisbrook Castle to the General, NOV. 27. 1647.

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The Free Liberty which you willingly afforded us to have of the Use of our Own Chaplains, makes us at this time not only to Acknowledge your Former Civilities, but, &c. So that his Majesties Condition appears to have been somewhat more easie at Hampton-Court, then before it was at Holdenby. Nay, most certain it is, that the Presbyterians, even at that very time, did the Deadly thing that brought the King to the Scaffold.

Presb. *How could that be ; when the Two Houses, by Purging, and Modelling, were Subjected Absolutely to the Devotion of the Army.*

Indep. Thus they did it. His Majesty was at that time, upon fair, terms with Cromwel, and Ireton ; and not without large hopes of a Final Accomodation. (The Author of *The History of Independency*, (Pa. 35.) is positive as to *their Treating with the King.*) While this was in Agitation, the Presbyterians were at work on the other hand to break the King's Confidence in the Army ; by Imputations of Treachery, and Levity : to divert his Majesty to the Seeking of Relief elsewhere ; with particular Undertakings of great Matters from Scotland, and the City of London. This way of Tampering might very well put the King to a stand : which Cromwel no sooner perceived, but he Immediately betook himself to a Course of Extremity : Irritated (over and above, as is credibly affirmed) by an Advise from Argile, in confirmation of his Jealousie.

His Majesties next Remove was to the *Isle of Wight* : Where, for Ceremonies sake, he was presented with *Four Bills* ; and upon his Refusal to pass them, followed the Vote of *Non-Addresses*. In *Passing these Bills*, His Majesty had not only divested Himself, and his Successors, of all Sovereignty ; but Subjected his People to the *Basest*, and most *Absolute Tyranny* that ever was Exercis'd upon Mortals.

Presb. *You will not call this the Act of the Presbyterians, I hope.*

Indep. No, I will not : But yet I must tell you, that the Presbyterians, upon this Juncture, did every jot as much as this Amounts to.

So soon as the Parliament of Scotland was thoroughly Inform'd of the Distress, and Danger of the Kings Condition, the Matter was present'y Debated ; and a Resolution taken to Raise an Army for his Majesties Relief. In which Proceeding, they were violently opposed by the General Assembly, without any regard at all to the

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King's Life, at that time in Question. See *The Humble Desires of the Commissioners of the General Assembly to the Parliament, Pag. 13.* (We desire that his Majesties late Concessions, and Offers concerning Religion, as they have been by the Church, so may be by the Parliament declared Unsatisfactory. (March 22. 1648.) And afterward: Ibid. p. 60. (Jan. 10. 1648.) That his Majesties late Concessions, and Offers concerning Religion, may by your Lordships, Directly, and Positively, be Declared Unsatisfactory to this present Parliament. And that there shall be no Engagement for Restoring his Majesty to one of his Houses, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, before Security, and Assurance be had from his Majesty, by his Solemn Oath, under his Hand, and Seal, that he shall for Himself, and his Successours, Consent, and Agree to Acts of Parliament, enjoyning the League and Covenant, and fully Establishing Presbyterian Government, Directory of Worship, and Confession of Faith in all his Majesties Dominions: and that his Majesty shall never make Opposition to any of these, or endeavour any Change thereof.

This is Rivitted with a Mischief. And pray'e shew me now the Material Difference, between Precluding His Majesty by a Vote of *No Adresse*, or by a Resolution of *No Agreement*: His Honour and Conscience being equally at stake on either side.

To give you the Sum of all in short. The *Presbyterians* began the War; Pursued it; made the *King* a Prisoner; Sold him; and in the Depth of his Calamity, presented him with Temptation, instead of Comfort. No Composition would be heard of, but the Forfeiture of his Soul, for the Saving of his Life.

Presb. But the *Independents* however, Crown'd the Wickedness with his Blood.

Indep. Suppose it so: They did only Execute the Sentence, but the *Presbyterians* Pronounc'd it. Neither did they Execute it, as *Independents*; or under colour of any Impulse of Religion, or Conscience, but upon Civil, and Political Pretexs. He was adjudged to be put to Death as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and Publique Enemy: Not for Refusing to Enter into a Church-Covenant, or Establish Liberty of Conscience; but upon a Pestilent Motive of Diabolical Policy, and State. Whereas, the *Presbyterians* persecuted him as *Presbyterians*; and depriv'd him of his Royal Support, Dignity, Friends, Freedom, (in Effect) Life and all, because he would not renounce his Reason, & Conscience, in favour of their Government. And I am verily perswaded, that you will have as little to say for your Principles, as for your Actions.

SECT. XXVI.

What Party soever Demands a Toleration, and yet maintains, that it is DeLructive both of Church and State, to Grant one, is an Enemy to Both.

Indep. **A**S to the Point in Question; It lies Naturally before us to speak first to the Thing, in it self; and we may afterward consider it in the *Consequences*.

In the Desire of a *Toleration*, the *Independents* ask no more then they would be ready to Allow; I wish the *Presbyterians* could say the like.

Presb. In the Large sense of *Allowing* all sorts of *Libertines*, and *Heretiques*, as the late Independent Government did, I do confess you have outdone the *Presbyterians*.

Indep. And yet those very *Libertines*, and *Heretiques*, were Your *White-Boys*, and *Favourites*, so long as they serv'd Your Ends. They had none of this Language from you, when they Tumulted against *Bishops*, and *Common-Prayer*; *Ceremonies*, and *Papish Lords*. While they were the Instruments of Your *Ambition*, they were the *Godly*, *Well-affected Party*: So that *Heretiques*, it seems, will down well enough with your *Politiqs*, though not with your *Consciences*: Provided they will content themselves to be *Damn'd*, and let the *Presbyterians* alone to Govern.

Presb. The *Independents* made sweet work in Holland, did they not? And where was your Spirit of *Toleration*, and *Forbearance*, I beseech you, in *New-England*?

Indep. You cannot say that we gave any Trouble in Holland to the State; or that we fell foul there upon *Different Judgements*. In *New England*, 'tis true, we excluded the *Gortonists*, *Familists*, *Seekers*, *Antinomians*, *Anabaptists*; and Subjected them to the Censure of the *Civil Power*, as People of *Dangerous Principles*, in Respect both of *Good Life*, and *Government*. Which Proceeding of ours methinks might serve to disabuse those that call *Independency* the *Genus Generalissimum* of all *Errours*, *Heresies*, *Blasphemies*, and *Schisms*: and take the *Church way* of *New-England*, for that sort of *Independency*. They

did also exclude *Papacy*, and *Prelacy*; the *Latter*, perchance, more out of Regard to a *Temporary Convenience*, then upon any rooted Principle of *Implacable Severity*. And I perswade my self, the *Episcopal Party* will witness thus much on our behalfs; that as to the *Freedom* of their *Meetings* and way of *Worship*, in the late *Revolutions*, they had much better *Quarter* from the *Independents*, then ever they had from the *Presbyterians*: There was no *Persecuting* of Men for *Covenants*, and *Directories*: So that Thus far, the *Independents* have made their *Professions* of *Liberty* good, by their *Practise*.

Old Non-
Confor.
p. 41.
Petition
for peace.
p. 20.

Presb. And are not the *Classical Prebyterians* as much for a *Lawful Liberty*, as the *Congregationals*? [Let there be a *Toleration* in Religion, excepting to *Blasphemy*, *Treason*, or *Gross Errours*.] Bear with the *Weak*; *Tolerate* the *Tolerable*, and for the *Intolerable*, we beg not your *Toleration*. Here's the *Sense and Desire* of the *Presbyterian Divines* that were *Commission'd* about the *Review* of the *Service-Book*.

Par. I. p. 6.

Indep. This is only a *New Song*, to an *Old Tune*. The *Presbyterians* have just the same need of the *Independents* at this day, that they had some *nine and twenty Years ago*. The Author of *The Discourse of Religion* has many good *Remarques* upon the *Papists*, that may be very well applied to the *Presbyterians*: and *This for One*. [Things past (says he) may afford *Prognostiques* of things to come. So that we are to gather what you intend now, from what you did, after saying the same things before. Or if you had rather come to a *Trial*, upon the *Evidence* of your own *Manifestos*, and *Declarations*, then upon the *History* of your *Practises*; I shall make use of no other *Testimony* against you.

The *Presbyterians* press the *Demand* of a *Toleration*, as a very *reasonable Request*; and yet they *Themselves* have pronounc'd *Judgment* against it, as a thing against *Conscience*, *Destructive* of *Publick Order* both in *Church*, and *State*, and of the *Peace* of *Common Society*.

Gangrana.
par. 1. p.
282.

Ibid. 303.
Rutberf.
Free Disp.
p. 267.

Toleration (says *M. Edwards*) cannot be *Condescended to*, without a *Breach of Oath*, and *Covenant*. [It is the *Depth* of *Satan*, this *Design* of a *Toleration* of *Heresies*, and *Gross Errours*; but an *Allowance* of a *Latitude* in some *Lesser Differences* with *Peaceableness*. This is *Candidus ille Diabolus*, That *White Devil*, &c. The *London-Ministers* *Letter* to the *Assembly*, in 1643. declares it *Repugnant* to the *Solemn League and Covenant*. The *Commissioners* of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, do

do Protest, and Declare against it, as Inconsistent with, and Repugnant to the Word of God.

As to the Influence of a Toleration upon Church and State; Mr. Edwards tells us, that The Party Tolerated will never rest Working, till they get the upper hand, and Suppress the Other. Rutherford is positive that such Opinions, and Practises as make an Evident Schism in a Church, and set up two Distinct Churches, of Different Forms, and Government, are Not to be Tolerated. For by their Principles they labour, each the Destruction of the other; and this Toleration destroys Peace and Unity. Again, The London Ministers are of Opinion, that it will produce causeless, and unjust Revolts from the Ministry, and Congregations. The Peoples Minds will be Troubled, and in Danger to be Subverted. Heart-burnings will be Fomented, and Perpetuated to Posterity. The Godly, Painful, and Orthodox Ministers will be Discouraged, and Despis'd. The Life and Power of Godliness will be eaten up by Frivolous Disputes, and Fanglings. And the whole Church of England, in short time, will be swallowed up with Distraction, and Confusion. The Kingdom will be woefully weakened also, by Scandals, and Divisions: The Power of the Magistrate will not be only weakened, but utterly overthrown, by the Anti-Magistratical Principles, and Practises of the Independents: And the whole Course of Religion in Private Families, will be interrupted, and undermined.

Not to multiply Authorities more then necessary, This has been the strein of all your Proceedings: Imperiously, and Inexorably Strict, and Rigorous in Imposing upon Others; and as Shamelessly Importune, and Clamorous for Liberty to Your selves. But what have I more to do, then to pass Sentence upon you, out of your own Mouths? You cannot in Conscience desire a Toleration, if you understand it to be Against Conscience to Grant it. And the very Asking of That which you believe would draw a Destruction upon Church and State, is Ground enough for a strong Presumption that you Intend it.

Presb. That which was a Reasonable Cause of Refusal, from the Presbyterians to the Independents, will not hold good from the Church of England to the Presbyterians: Either in respect of the Stability of our Government, or of the Sobriety of our Principles.

SECT. XXVII.

In Case of a Tolertion, or Indulgence to be Granted, Whether has the fairer Pretense to it; The Classical way of the Presbyterians, or the Congregational Way of the Independents; in Respect of their Form of Government.

Indep. **T**HE Presbyterians (you say) are rather to be Tolerated than the Independents, in regard of the Stability of their Government, and the Sobriety of their Principles. To speak in this Place to the Matter of their Government; I think your Argument is very ill grounded. For in Deliberations of this Nature, the Cautions that occur to all Magistrates are chiefly these two. First, in Case of an Indulgence, that it may be placed upon a Party, which in Probability, would not disturb the Publique if they could; But Secondly, to make sure however, (for fear of the worst) that they shall not be able to do it, if they would. So that whether a Stable, and United, or a Loose, and Distracted Interest may with more Seemly be Indulged, is the Question.

Pres. You may as well ask, Whether Order, or Confusion be more Tolerable in a Government.

Indep. That Order which is Necessary in the Government it self, is Dangerous in the Enemies of it. But deliver your Exceptions to the Toleration of those which you call Independents, in Regard of their way of Government.

Presb. You have already, in a good part, sav'd me that Labour. But a Mrn shall not need to go further for an Exception, then to the very Denomination of them; which Import, an Exemption from all Jurisdiction, both Ecclesiastical, and Civil.

Indep. But what will become of that Exception, when I shall tell you, that those People are no more Independent, then the Presbyterians? [We depend upon the Magistrate for Civil Government, and Protection; and upon Christ, and his Word, for the Rule of our Administrations. Nay, we insist upon it, that the Congregational Way, is the only true Original Presbytery, which is Peculiar to every Particular Church of Christ. But if you call us Independent, as in distinction to Subordinate,

Citizens
Way, p. 11

Burtons
Vind, p. 18

Subordinate, we are not only ready, as such *Independents*, to defend our selves; but by virtue of that very *Independency*, we pretend to claim an Advantage over the *Presbyterians*.

Pres. *I could tell ye of your Church-Covenants, and Defensive Leagues, against the Commands of Authority.*

Indep. But I could speak homer to you, of your *National Leagues and Covenants*; which all the World knows, are the grand Engines to disjoyn Communities, and remove the Foundations of Government. And I do not much wonder at it, where the *Act of a General Assembly, Influences the Consciences of a whole Nation.* As to any *Covenant, and Leagues* against the *Magistrate*; neither do the *Independents* practise them, nor would they stand them in any stead, if they had a mind to play the Villains; for want of an *Orderly Dependence*, to unite, and to oblige them.

Presb. *And for that Reason, you Imagine, the Independents maybe better Tolerated, then the Presbyterians.*

Indep. Truly for That Main Reason, with Twenty Great ones more in the Belly of it.

It were a wild thing for a Man to apprehend any danger to a Government, from a Faction that is Divided, and Distracted within it self; and without any Common Tye of Agreement to Unite it. And This do I take to be the Condition of the *Independents*, (which for Discourse sake, we will suppose to be a *Faction*.) Their *Congregations* are generally *small*; the Members of them, gather'd up here and there, and so Scattered, and Intermix'd with People of other Perswasions, that they have neither *Opportunity*, nor *Encouragement* to joyn in a *Conspiracy*. Besides that in Respect of their *Church Parity*, they want that ordinary *Medium* of Superiority, and Subjection, to link them together in a Combination, upon the Point of *Common Interest*. Another Difficulty will arise from the *Affections* of the Pastors themselves: who are not without their touches of *Disgust*, and *Emulation*, to see themselves either *Out-vied*, or *Deserted*: the *One*, by Fuller Congregation; and the *Other*, by the Removal of their Members from one Church to another.

Presb. *If I am not mistaken, you have provided against the Inconvenience of Breaking in One upon Another; by an Obligation at your Entrance into any Church, not to forsake it without Leave: But proceed.*

Indep.

Indep. There remains yet behind, another Obstacle, equal to all the rest: Which is: that the *Independents* have no Men that are Eminent for *Popularity, Interest, Great Fortunes, and Abilities*, to head them. Now how it is possible for a Party under all these Disadvantages, to work any Mischief to the State, I am not wise enough to imagine. If you object, that the late *Independent Government* had many Persons at the Helm, that were qualified with these Circumstances. I must Answer you, that whatever they were, they did not set up Originally for *Independency*.

Presb. So that upon the Result, to save your Party from appearing dangerous, you have made it Contemptible. And your Argument would have run very well in those Words, The *Independents* may better be Tolerated than the *Presbyterians*: for no Body that has either Brain, or Reputation, will own *Independency*.

Ind p. As an Interest (you should have said) whereupon to work any Change of Government. (And this would have been point-blank to the Question, and your Period never the worse for't.)

Now if my Reason be good on the behalf of the *Independents*, that They may be Tolerated without any Risque to the Commonwealth, upon the Considerations before mentioned: It will hold as good against the *Presbyterians*; because of the very Contrary Circumstances in their Government, and Case; That is to say, they are at great Agreement in the Orderly Reduction, and Connexion of their Policy; and they have commonly found Great Friends to uphold them in their Pretenses.

My first Exception to *Presbytery* is, that it is a *National Church-Government*. And methinks Two *National Church-Governments* in the same Kingdom, looks like a Sharing of the Sovereignty, and the setting up of *Christs Vicar* against *Gods Vicegerent*. And what will the People say in the Matter, but either that the Government thinks them in the Right, or else that 'tis afraid of them? The former Supposition draws the Simile into the Party upon Conscience; and the latter engages the Crafty upon Interest.

To take it now in the Constitutive Parts of it; the Scale of the *Presbytery* rises Thus: From *Parochial Inspection*, to *Classical*; from *Classical* to *Provincial*; and from *Provincial*, to *National*: Which Extensive Latitude, and Comprehension, does plainly discover, that there was a Design of Sole, and Sovereign Dominion in the very Institution of the *Discipline*.

To say nothing in this Place of the *Absolute and Independent Authority* Claimed, and Exercis'd by the *General Assembly*; I shall only observe this to you: that they have the best Security in the World, for their Subjects Obedience to all their Acts, and Conclusions whatsoever. For *Life, Fortune, Soul*, and all lies at Stake: They *Fine, Punish, Degrade, Excommunicate* at Pleasure. And this is the True Reason, that from time to time, the *Presbyterial Discipline* has had the Countenance of so many Popular *Advocates*, and Abettors. For certainly, it is the best Foundation for an Alteration of State, that ever was yet laid upon the Face of the Earth; and their work is three quarters done to their hand, in the very Disposition of the *Model*.

Only one Observation more, and I have done. And That is, The Provident Commixture of *Laity*, and *Clergy* in all their Counsels; *These* to Attaque the *Church*, the *Other*, the *State*; by which means, they may the more commodiously carry on *Schism*, and *Sedition* in their proper Seasons: and leave a Door of Preferment, and Advantage, open to all Comers.

I will not say yet, that it is *absolutely Impossible* for a *Protestant Monarchy*, and this *Double-refin'd Presbytery* to prosper in the same Soil: But if I had Money in my Pocket, I would not give any Prince in Christendom above eighteen months Purchase for his Crown, that should put it to the Venture. For he has nothing in the World to trust to, but Miracles: The *Gratitude, Faith, Good Nature*, and *Pure Integrity* of the *Party*.

SECT. XXVIII.

Whether may be better Tolerated in This Kingdom, the Presbyterians, or the Independents, in Respect of their Principles, and Ordinary Proceedings.

Debated, First, with Relation to his Majesties Person and Authority.

Indep. **T**HE Government of *England* is *Monarchique*; but so temper'd with *Legal Provisions* for the *Comfort*, and *Benefit* of the *People*, that every *Englishman* has his *Interest* in the Preservation of the *Law*; as That which Intitles him to the Free Enjoyment of his *Life* and *Fortune*: So that we are to frame our Discourse with a Regard to His *Majesties Person*, and *Royal Authority*; The *Foundation*, and *Execution* of the *Law*; and *Rights*, and *Just Liberties*

Liberties of the People: Utterly excluding from the Limits of Our Toleration, all Power or Pretence whatsoever, that shall presume to Usurp upon any of These Particulars. Now to begin with the First.

What do you find in the *Independent Way*, that may endanger his Majesty, either in his *Person*, or in his *Prerogative*?

Presb. The Princes of Germany would answer you, that your Proceedings are Sanguinary and Violent; not only against your Actual Opposers, but against the very Ordinance of Magistracy it self.

Indep. What are the Furies of the *Anabaptists* to Us, that have declared against them, as well as You? But if you can fasten upon those of the *Congregational Way*, any *Antimonarchical Opinions*, or *Practises*, which are either wrap't up in the Bowels of that Profession, or naturally issuing from thence: and make good your Assertion, by proving what you say, to have been the Formal Act of any One of our Churches by it self, or More of them in Combination, I will never open my Mouth after it, in a Plea for the *Independents*.

Presb. It were a hard matter indeed to fasten any thing upon the Principles of a Party, that professes to have no Principles, but still refers it self to the guidance of a Further Light.

Indep. And yet you can blame us for our Principles, though by your own Confession, you know not what they are. Now for the Reserve of Acting according to a Further Light, it is express in the ordinary Form of our Church-Covenant, that it is to be reach'd unto us out of the Word, which most assuredly will not leade us into any Evil.

If this be all you have to say against the *Independents*, I would gladly hear what defence you are able to make for the *Presbyterians*; either simply or in themselves; or else comparatively with any other sort of People. Nay, I should not much care if you took the *Jesuits* themselves for your *Foil*.

Disc. of
Relig.
part 1:
p. 3.
Ibid. p. 4.

Presb. How can you say this? considering [that Thundring of Excommunication, which has sounded in all Ages, since the beginning of the Papal Reign, against Kings, Emperours, &c. And these Practises Justified by their Decretals and Canons, Divines of greatest Authority, and some of their Councils: Ascribing to the Pope a Power of Deposing Princes that are Heretical, or Favourers of Heretiques. The

Jesuits

Jesuites Doctrine of King-killing hath made them Odious, &c.

Indep. Do you tell us of *Papal-Excommunications*, justified by *Canons, Divines, Councils*; *Deposing of Kings for Heresie*; and the *Jesuites Doctrine of King-killing, &c.* The *Disciple* should speak Reverently of his *Master*: for I assure you, a *Jesuits Cloak* fits exceedingly well upon the *Shoulders of a Presbyterian*.

To Discipline, must all the *States within the Realm be Subject as well* Scotch *the Rulers as the Ruled.* (According to the *Discipline of the Kirk of Dill.* p. 59 *Scotland, Printed in London, 1647.*

The *Person of the Magistrate* ought to be *Subject to the Kirk, Spiritually,* ib. p. 78. and in *Ecclesiastical Government*; *Submitting himself to the Discipline of the Kirk, if he transgress in matters of Conscience and Religion.* *Beza, Buchanan,* (and in truth, the whole *Brotherhood*) are for the *Excommunication of Princes.* So that there's *Presbyterial Excommunication* you see, as well as *Papal.* 79

And in case of *Superstition and Idolatry*, the *Presbyter* can *Depose* too, as well as the *Pope*, in case of *Heresie.* Was not the *Queen-Regent* in *Scotland 1639.* deposed, upon the *Encouragement* and *Printed* with the *Approbation of Willoc, Knox, and their Fellows?* As not *doing h^r Duty to the Subjects*; and as a *reventment Maintainer of Superstition and Idolatry?* Did not the *Commissioners of the Kirk in 1596.* threaten an open *Protestation* against *King James, and his Council,* 1644; p. 125, Scotland, Hist. p. 418 in case of either *Pa-doning* or *Restoring* the *Popish Lords* that were at that time under *Banishment?*

As to the *Jesuites Doctrine of King-Killing*, we are able not only to *match*, but to *out-doe* it, out of the *School of the Consistory.* There is no doubt but the *Jesuits* are guilty of delivering *Doctrine* that naturally leads to *King-killing Conclusions.* But do ye find that ever they said in plain terms; *It is Lawful for Subjects to take up Arms against their Sovereign, in case of Religion*; or that ever they publicly *applauded the Murder of a Prince, after the Fact was committed?* Certainly, in this particular, the *Consistorian Copy* goes beyond the *Papal Original.*

Upon a dangerous *Uproar* that was raised by the *Ministers in Edinburgh, 1596.* the *King* by *Proclamation* discharged all *Judicatories* from *Sitting there.* Whereupon the *Ministers* prest a *Band of Association*, upon the *Noblemen and Barons*; and sent a *Letter* (drawn by *Robert Bruce, and Walter Balcanquhal*) to the *Lord Hamilton* to *Head them*: For *by the motion of Gods Spirit, and animated by the Word, the People had gone to Arms, in defence of the Church, &c.* Ibi. p. 431

Not to trouble you with a Rabble of Unnecessary Instances; In the Ninth Section there has been said more then enough upon this Subject already. You shall now see the Veneration they have for the *Persons of Princes*.

Spotswood *Gibson*, In the Pulpit, denounced that Curse against King *James*, that fell upon *Jeroboam*: that he should die Childless, and be the last of the Race. (An. 1585.) which words, by the Assembly (with much ado, and after declining the Question, were found to be Scandalous.

Ibid. 367. *David Blake* preached, that all Kings were the Devils Barns, and His Majesty had detected the Treachery of his Heart. For which he was cited before King and Council, and appeal'd to the Presbytery who by their Commissioners moved his Majesty for a Surcease of the Process, with a charge, in case of refusal, to Protest against the Proceedings of the Council. *Quasi Pulpita* (says *Cambden*) *a Regum Autoritate essent Exempta*. As if *Pulpits* were priviledged from the Authority of Princes.

Ibid. 430. *John Welch*, at the High Church in *Edenburgh*, preached, that the King was posselt with a Devil, and that the People might Rise Lawfully and take the Sword out of his hand.

But what is all this, in comparison with the License of the late times here at Home, when the *Two Houses*, and Assembly were dayly entertained with Sermons and Pamphlets of this Quality, for which the Authors had their Thanks, and *Imprimanturs*? But I shall rather confine my self now, to the Arbitrary excesses of the *Scottish Presbytery*, as the Model of the Covenanted and blessed Reformation.

To come now to their *Usurpations* upon the Civil Power.

Ibid. 322. King *James* was surpriz'd at *Rubuen* (1582.) under pretext of Religion, and kept 5 months a Prisoner. This Act was publicly justified by the Assembly at *Edenburgh*, as done for the Preservation of the Kings Person and Religion.

Ibid. 330. In the Case of *Andrew Melvil*: It was insisted upon, that *Treason* in the Pulpit, fell under the Cognition of the Presbytery, and that neither King nor Council, *Primâ Instantiâ*, ought to meddle with it. But it is a much easier matter to find what a Prince may not do, (under the Inspection of a Presbytery) then what he may.

(a) *Ibid.* 324. He must not (a) receive an Ambassador, nor (b) pardon an Offender, without the Approbation of the Kirk. Nor so much as chuse (c) 398 his own Guards; (c) Court-Officers, or Counsellors, nor Issue out any (d) 403. Proclamations or Decrees. They are to direct him (d) what Forfeis-

tures to take, and how to dispose of them: when to *Arm*, and when to *Trust*. If the King has a mind to *Feast* an *Embassador*, they presently indict a *Fast*; (a) and *Curse* the Magistrates almost to *Excom*: (e) 343 *munication*, for not observing it. Nay, so little Power had King James with these People, that (f) when his Mother was under a (f) 354 *Sentence of Death*, he could not get them so much as to *Pray* for her, That God would *Illuminate* her with the *Light* of his *Truth*, and *save* her from the *Apparent danger* she was in.

On the other side; they claim to themselves the Power of *War*, and *Peace*; of *Calling* and *Dissolving Assemblies*; and whensoever they shall think fit to say, that the *Good* of the *Church*; the *Glory* of *Kings* God: or any *Spiritual* end is concerned, They make no *Scruple* in the large *De-* World, of *Levying Armes*, *Men*, *Moneys*; *Seizing* of *Castles*, and *car. p. 415* *Fort*s; *Issuing out* of *Warrants* for *Members* of *Parliament*. (a) They impose *Oaths* and *Covenants* against the *King Himself*; (b) *Encounter* (a) lb. 87 *Proclamations* with *Anti-Protests*; (c) *Rescind Acts* of *Counsels*; &c. (b) 98 (c) p. 416 And what's the colour for all this haughtiness and State? The *Ministers* (forsooth) are *Christ's Deputies*; and their *Acts* are *Christ's Ordinances*; whereas *Judges*; *Counsellors*, and *Parliaments* are but the *King's Substitutes*, and their *Laws* only *Humane*.

Pres. You are not any more to conclude against the *Presbyterial Government*, from the *President* of some *Faction* Assemblies, than against the *Constitution* of *Parliaments*, from the *President* of some *Seditious Compositions* and *Elections*.

Indep. Neither do I charge these *Imposing Usurpations* upon the *Confederacy* of a *Cabal*, or a *Faction*, but upon the *Original Scope*, and *Mystery* of the *Discipline*; for I find them rooted in the very *Foundation* of their *Policy*.

Their *Pragmatical Intermeddling* in *Civil Affairs*, and matters of *Scotch* State, is warranted by their *Book of Government*; where it is said, *Diil p. 79* that the *Minister* handleth *External things*, only for *Conscience cause*; *lb. 279* Now I would fain know that *Notion* which may not some way or other, be made *Relative* to *Conscience*. *lb. p. 79*

For *Limiting* the *Magistrate* in the *Exercise* of his *Power*, they have this *Plea*; that though the *Ministers* do not *Exercise* the *Civil Jurisdiction*, they *Teach* the *Magistrate* how it should be *Exercised* according to the *Word*. So that the *Prince* is put to *School* to the *Master*ships of his *Parish*, to learn every *Point* and *Circumstance* of his *Duty*.

Now for the *Absolute* and *Boundless Jurisdiction* of their *General Assemblies*:

Assemblies: They tell us, not only that *The Kirk is to appoint Times and Places convenient for their Meeting*; but that as well *Magistrates, as Inferiours, are to be Subject to the Judgment of the same*; in Ecclesiastical Causes, without any Reclamations or Appeal to any Judge Civil or Ecclesiastical.

Is not this a *Dethroning of Majesty*, to set *Princes, and Peasants* upon the same Level in Point of *Subjection* to their *Resolutions and Decrees*.

If. p. 91

Presb. Not at all; For the *Magistrate* is to assist, and maintain the *Discipline of the Kirk*; and punish them *Civilly* that will not obey the *Censure of the same*.

Indep. In truth it is a *Goodly Office* you have allotted the *Chief Magistrate*; to set him *Check by Jowl* with the *Beadle of the Parish*. You are to direct the *Punishment*, and *He* is to *Execute* it.

But what if he should prove *Refractory*, and dispute your *Authority*? In Case of *Contumacy*, *He* is as *Liabie to Censure* (you say) as another *Person*. And then you have no more to do, but to resort to your ordinary *Method of Calling in the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen Burgeses, and Commons* to your *Assistance* against him.

Ibid. 61

Let me now *marque* to you, the *Passages in your Discipline*, that make two *shrewd discoveries*. [A *Minister* (you say) must not frequent, and commonly haunt the *Court*, unless either sent by the *Kirk*, or called upon by *Authority* for his *Counsel*, and *Judgment in Civil Affairs*. And afterwards, you say, that, *Ministers* may and shall assist their *Princes*, when required, in all things agreeable to the *Word*; whether it be in *Counsel* or *Parliament*, or otherwise. Provided, that through *Flattery* of *Princes*, they hurt not the *Publique State of the Church*.

Ibid. 44

Whence it appears; *First*, that *simple Presbyters* may do well enough in *Parliaments*, or *Counsels*; though *Bishops* are *Excluded*: were it not *Secondly*, for the danger of creating a *Kindness* betwixt the *King*, and the *Kirk*; which in consequence would frustrate the main *Design*. For the *Prime end* of this *Church Policy* is the *Overtopping and Subjecting of the Secular Power*: and it was wisely done to temper the very *Foundation* of it with *Principles of Opposition* to the *Order*, and *well-Being of Civil Government*.

SECT. XXV.

The Question of Toleration, betwixt Presbytery and Independency, debated, with regard to the Foundation and Execution of the Law.

Presb. **W**hat if you had put the Question, betwixt a Peaceable, and Obedient sort of People, and a Generation of men that cannot live out of Contention?

Indep. The men of Contention, I suppose you would have me understand to be the Independents. What's the Quarrel to them upon the matter now before us?

Presb. Only This; that they are Intolerable in any Government. How many Plots have they had upon this Kingdom, since his Majesties Return? There was Venner's Rising; A Conspiracy in the North; Another in Ireland.

Indep. And all this while, you forget the Rebellion in Scotland, which was professedly Presbyterian; beside that, These disorders which you speak of, were nothing at all to the Independents: But (one way or other) these Instances are to no purpose without some Authoritative Allowance: and Pray'e let us agree upon it, that only the Conclusions of the Kirk, on the one hand, and of the Church on the other, may be Insisted upon, as the Acts of either Party.

Pres. I do not find that the Independent Churches come to any Resolutions at all.

Indep. You have the less to say then against their Principles; and I wish the Independents could say the same thing for the Presbyterians. How far, I beseech you, are Humane Laws Binding?

Presb. So far forth as they are agreeable to the Word of God.

Indep. And who shall Determine what Laws and Constitutions are agreeable to God's Word?

Presb. The Church Lawfully Constitute; which all Godly Princes, and Magistrates ought to hear, and to obey their voice, and Reverence the Majesty of the Son of God speaking in them.

21 book
of Diss.
R 92

Indep.

Indep. I need not ask what Church that is; For *John Morellius* was *Excommunicate*, for maintaining in a certain Treatise, That *Tell The Church*, did not belong to the *Consistory*, and the *Book* was burnt. But to the Point.

If the Word of God be the Rule for *Humane Laws*; and the *Presbytery*, the sole Expounders of the Word of God; the Law of the Nation is at the Mercy of the Kirk already: for 'tis but saying, that *This or that Law is not Agreeable to the Word of God*, and there's an end on't.

2d book
of Disc.
p. 86

Presb. The Kirk has Power to *Abrogate and Abolish all Statutes, and Ordinances concerning Ecclesiastical Matters, that are found noysome, and unprofitable, and agree not with the time, or are abused by the People.*

Indep. If the Kirk has *This Power*, the *Pope Himself* pretends to nothing beyond it. Are not your *Determinations* as *peremptory*; and your *Orders* as *Imperious*? But I am speaking here as to the *Latitude* of your *Pretended Jurisdiction*. You may *abrogate All Statutes* (you say) *Concerning Ecclesiastical Matters*. And I say on the other side, that you may upon that *Ground*, *abrogate all the Statutes* in the *Christian World*: for I defie the whole race of Mankind, to shew me any one Law extant, or the very supposition of a Law possible, which may not some way or other, be said to *Concern Ecclesiastical Matters*.

Pres. You take no notice, how this *Power* is clogg'd with *Limitations*. If they be found *Unprofitable, Unseasonable, or to be abused by the People*.

Indep. Very good: And if the Kirk shall think fit to find them so; Pray'e What Remedy? But their own *Avowed Actions*, and *Declarations*, are the *Best Comments* upon their own *Principles*.

Under King *James* in *Scotland*, nothing was more ordinary, then over-ruling *Acts of Parliament* by the *Acts of the Assembly*: Did they not erect a *Counsel of the Church* in *Edenborough*, 1596. and take upon them to *Convene, Examine, and Censure* at pleasure such as they suspected to hold any *Correspondence* with certain *Excommunicate Lords*? did they not also appoint to meet in *Armes*, at the *Trial* of them?

Spotsw.
Hist. 418
Hid. 398
Kings
large De-
cla. p 416

Nor did they think it enough, to *Rescind*, or *superfede Acts* of *Parliament* and *General Assemblies*: but *People must be Question'd too* for yielding

yielding Obedience to *Acts of Parliament, and of General Councils under Colour of unjust Laws.* We'll close this particular with the Judgment of the *Commissioners of the General Assembly of Scotland, of May 5. 1648.*

The Authority of Parliament is one thing; an Act of Parliament Declar, another thing. We do still acknowledg their Authority, when we obey not of the This or That Act. And whatsoever be the Treason of Impugning the Au- Commisfi, thority of Parliament, It can be no Treason to Obey God rather then Man: ou, p. 55. Neither did the General Assembly of Glalgow, 1638. and such as were and 56, active for the Covenant at that time, commit any Treason, when they Impugned Episcopacy, and Perth Articles, although ratify'd, and strengthen'd by Acts of Parliament, and standing Laws then Unrepealed.

Pres. When we have once gotten Power into our hands, we are all too apt to abuse it. But I cannot yet perswade myself that the Root of these Practices is to be found in their Principles. Their Books of Discipline are Publique; and no Government would ever entertain it, if there were such danger in it.

Indep. How was the Covenant entertain'd? or who would have dream'd of any harm in a League for the Preservation and Defence of the King's Majestie's Person and Authority? And yet the Presbyterian Interpretation, and Salvo of Subordinating his Majesties Safety and Preservation to the Defence of the True Religion (immediately following) and the Kirks assuming to Themselves the Judgment of that Religion, brought both King and Church to Destruction. Nor can you choose but observe the Holy Discipline, and Covenant, to be both of a Stile, and both of a Design: Their Claim concerning Ecclesiastical Matters, hooks in all Laws; and In the Defence of the true Religion, They usurp an Authority over all Magistrates. This Discipline (at the best) is but as a Worm at the Root of Civil Government: Wheresoever it comes, the Secular Power hangs the head, and droops upon it, and never thrives after. But to Sovereign Princes, a man might say of it, as God said to Adam, of the Apple: In the day you eat thereof, you shall dye the death.

Now as it is manifestly destructive of Law in the very Foundations of it, to carry an Appeal from all Temporal Governours and Constitutions, to the Scepter and Sentence of Christ, sitting upon his Tribunal in the Presbytery (the Language of Beza himself) so likewise have they their Preparatory Artifices for Obstructing the Execution of

Law, and for the *Weakening*, and *Distraction* of a Government before they enter upon the Great Work of *Dissolving* it. And this is effected by the *Trojan Horse*. (as one calls it) of their *Excommunication*, that carries all the Instruments and Engins of Publique Ruine, and Confusion in the belly of it.

By Virtue of this Device, they do not only impose upon all Ministers, and Courts of Justice; but they may, when they please (as *Hooker* observes) send out their *Writs of Surcease*; and fetch in the whole Business of *Westminster-Hall*, to the Bar of the *Consistory*. Or at the fairest, (according to *Beza's* Distinction) if they allow the *Civil Judge* to try the *Fact* (as mere *Civile*) yet *de Jure Controversiæ Ecclesiasticæ Synedrium constat Respondisse*. The Church was to determine in matter of Law, and the *Civil Magistrate* after That, to pronounce Sentence, according to *That Decision*. Briefly, *Beza* gives the *Presbytery* the same Power under the Gospel, which was Exercised by the *Synagogue* under the Law. But now to the Point of your *Excommunication*; and to shew you in what manner it is apply'd, to hinder the Execution of Law; and to obstruct *Civil Justice*.

By One Clause of your Discipline, You may *Abrogate* what Laws you please, concerning *Ecclesiastical Matters*: And by Another; The Minister is Authorized to handle *External* things, for Conscience Cause: So that your Authority is without Controul in *Ecclesiastical Matters*; and so is your Liberty of handling *Civil Matters* as *Ecclesiastical*. Upon which Bottom was found an Assertion not long since maintained at the *Savoy*, i. e. That the Command of a most Lawful Act is sinful, if that Act commanded may prove to any One a Sin per Accidens. Now if the Kirk shall think fit to *Abrogate* a Law (as nothing more frequent) whoever shall presume to Execute that Law, is sure to be *Excommunicate*: And the Supreme Magistrate himself is no less liable to Church Censure, for not Executing That Sentence, then the *Inferior Magistrate* was for his Original Disobedience.

Spotswoods
Hist.
P 345.

The Bishop of St. Andrews (in 1586) was *Excommunicate* for Advising King James to a Declaration against Certain Fugitive Ministers that were denounced Rebels; and Contriving the Statutes of (1584.) touching The Kings Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes. Knox is for *Excommunication* in all Crimes, that are Capital by the Law of God; and in effect, for the Churches Tryal of the very Fact. It was not for nothing that the Two Houses held the Assembly so long in Play, upon this Point; and in Despight of all Importunities to the Contrary, kept the staff still in their own Hands; and reserved to Themselves the *Ultimate Appeal*, in Cases of *Excommunication*.

Presb.

Pres. Was it not rather the Work of the Independents? Who (to say the Truth) were as much against any Settlement at all, as against That; And against the very Convening of the Assembly it self.

Indep. And they had done the State a good Office, if they had totally hindered it. But this is beside our Business. We have said enough as to the Dangerous Influence of *Presbytery*, upon the Security of his Majesty and the Law. It remains now to be considered with a respect to the Rights, and Liberties of the People.

SECT. XXX.

The Question of Toleration, betwixt Presbytery and Independency, debated, with a regard to the Rights, Liberties, and Advantages of the People.

Indep. You see how it is with Kings, Parliaments, and Laws, under the Dominion of *Presbytery*. We are now to look into the Condition of the Nobility, Gentry, Commonalty, and of the *Presbyterial Clergy* it self, under that Discipline: Which will best appear, by a view of the Powers which the *Presbytery* claims, and Exercises. But let me commend One Note to you as Previous to that Examination. This Party has constantly screw'd it self into the World, by an Oath of Mutual Defence: Which Oath they apply as well to the Ruine and Extirpation of their Opponents, as to their own Preservation; by making it a Test of good Affection to that Interest; and Excluding all People whatsoever from any Office, or Benefit Ecclesiastical, or Civil, without subscribing it. You cannot deny but this Oath in the very Institution of it, is a Violence both upon Law, and Conscience; and Consequently, that the Imposition falls heaviest upon those that make an Honourable, and Religious Scruple of their Actions. So that here is already expos'd the most Considerable part of the Nation, for the Subject of their Displeasure; with their Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes at Mercy; as you will find upon a further Consideration of their Usurped Authority, and Jurisdiction.

Presb. In the very Declaration of the Commission of the General Assembly of Scotland, 1648, page. 53. [The Duties of the Second Table as well as of the First: As namely, the Duties between King, and Subjects; Parents, and Children; Husbands, and Wives; Masters,

sters, and Servants, and the Like; being contained in, and to be taught and cleared from the Word of God, are in That Respect, and so far as concerneth the Point of Conscience, a Subject of Ministerial Doctrine, and in difficult Cases, a Subject of Cognizance and Judgment to the Assembly of the Kirk. The Dispute here was about the Assemblies Authority, in the Question of War or Peace.

Is not this at one Blow to destroy the Order of all Relations, Political, and Natural, and Moral? Princes must not presume to make War or Peace; to Enact Laws, or Abrogate; to Spare or Punish, without Ecclesiastical Licence. The Subject must go to the Masters of the Parish, to know whether he shall Obey Authority, or Resist it. And after the same manner it fares with Parents, and Children; Husbands, and Wives; Masters, and Servants; So that there is not any Person, either Publicque or Private; Or any Action, or Offices of Regard to Community, Family, or Alliance, that escapes their Pragmatical Scrutiny, and Inspection.

Pres. So far as these Duties are matter of Conscience, there is no Doubt but they are of Ecclesiastical Cognizance; and further than so, they make no Pretension.

Indep. But you must give me leave to tell you then, that their Consciences are larger then other Peoples. The Old Non-Conformist (as an Expedient for the settling Ecclesiastical Affairs (Page 43.) proposes the setting up of Work-Houses for the Poor; the Carrying on of the Fishing Trade; The taking off of Protections; that none may be Imprison'd but according to Law: and the Abatement of Taxes. The Assembly at Glasgow 1638. passed an Act concerning Salmon Fishing, and another about Salt-Pans. And all This I Warrant ye, so far as they concerned Point of Conscience. But if you would see, what the Consistory calls Conscience, in the full Extent, we must repair for satisfaction, to their Direction, and Practises in the matter of Conscience, and Excommunication.

The Kirk proceeds to Excommunication in all Capital Crimes, where the Offender that deserv'd to dye, is suffer'd to live. And in Cases of Fornication, Drunkenness, Swearing, Cursing, Sabbath-Breaking, Wanton Words, Contempt of the Orders of the Church; Oppression of the Poor; Deceit in Buying and Selling, by wrong Measure and Measure.

Pres. Well; and what hurt's in all this?

Indep.

Indep. None at all: But let me proceed. They Censure also Excess in Apparel, Meate, or Drink; Uncomely Gestures; Contentiousness, without reasonable Cause; Chiding, Brawling, Vain-Words; Every fault that tendeth to the Hurt of a Man's Neighbour, or to the Hindrance of The Glory of God: Whether by Force or Fraud; Word or Deed; Manifestly, or Secretly; Purposely, or Ignorantly: And the Judgment of the whole is left to the Discretion of the Church. So that your very Thoughts are not free. [The Spiritual Ruler (says the Book of Discipline Judgeth Both Inward Affections, and External Actions in respect of Conscience, by the word of God. Upon which ground they take upon them to Censure the very Suspicion of Avarice, and Pride: Superfluity or Riotousness, in Chear or Rayment. But upon Dancers, Robin Hoods, and all Games that brings loss, they have no mercy. These particulars are extracted to a syllable out of the most Authentical Records they have to shew for the Warrant of the Scottish Discipline.—(Our Blessed Model.)

Page 79.

But many People perchance will make it a matter of nothing to be Excommunicate upon a Supposition that the Anathema is the uttermost spite of the Censure. They never dream of Carings, Faggots, Pillories: Shaving their Beards, and Cutting half the Hair of their Heads. Banishments, Pecuniary Mulcts, Close Imprisonments, and all sorts of Studied Defamations.

Presbyt. display'd. P. 4.

Now, If any man refuse to Subscribe their Confession of Faith, Rule of Government, and Manner of Worship, He is forthwith Excommunicate; and upon Remonstrance of a Commissioner from the Presbytery to the Civil Judge, a Warrant granted, commanding him to a Conformity by a Day Certain, or to be Outlawed. If he Conform not within that time, his Estate moveable is forfeited; and if not within a Year and a day, he loses his whole Revenue for his Life. After This, at the further Instance of the Churches Commissioner, Our go Letters of Caption for Apprehending of his Person, and Committing him as a Rebel. And if he be not to be found; These are follow'd with Letters of Inrer-Communing, forbidding all men either Personally to Confer with him, or by Letter, or interposed Person to Correspond with him, upon Pain of the Inter-Communers being Judged and Reputed a Rebel of the same Guiltiness.

Ibi. P. 39

As to the General Rule of Excommunication; no Person (Wife and Family excepted) is to have any Communication with the Excommunicate; be it in Eating or Drinking; Buying or Selling; Yea, in Saluting or Talking with Him: Unless at Commandment or License of the Ministry for his Conversion. His Children begotten and born after that Sentence may be admitted to Baptism, till of Age to require it; unless the Mother

Book of Discipline. P. 16.

Spotsw.
Hist. p.
436.

Mother or some special Friends, Members of the Kirk, offer and present the Child, damning the Iniquity and contempt of the Impenitent. There are that do not allow Husbands to accompany with their Wives in the State of Excommunication.

Now upon what hath been deliver'd, let any man consider the *Unchristian Rigour* of this *Disciplinary Inquisition*; not only in the actual Tyranny of it, but in the more miserable Consequences.

Unchristian
Ri-
gour.

First, as it *Scandalizes the Gospel*, and *makes the Death of Christ seem to be no Effect*, by Imposing upon us such Conditions of Salvation, as if the Blessed Angels should descend, and indue humane shapes, they were not able to perform. For it is not what Christ and his Apostles say, that will do a man's business here, without the *Urim and Thummim* of the *Parochial Session*, and the defects of the written Word, are to be supplied by *unwritten Traditions* out of the Repository of the *Presbyterial Cabal*. In this case it is, that we are to have recourse to the Apostles Precept; of *Standing fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us Free, and not to be intangled again in the Yoke of Bondage*, (a yoke much more intolerable than that of the Law; For the Jews had their Lesson before their eyes, and knew what they were to do. But here, it matters not what either Scripture or Conscience says, without the subsequent concurrence of the *Presbytery*: to whose Supreme and Infallible Judgment (and not to our own) we are to stand or fall either to Heaven, or Hell.

The Rigour of this Discipline is most Unchristian also, as it *weakens weak Consciences with Needles, Infinite, and Incurable Scruples*; with Scruples that Haunt, Dog, and torment us in the most necessary and Ordinary Actions of Humane Life. At the Church; at the Table; at the Market; at Home, and Abroad: at all Times, in all Places, and upon all Occasions, in our Words, Thoughts, and Deeds.

Excess in
Eating
censurable,

As to *Excess in Eating*. It is *Censurable* either in the Quantity, or in the Quality. So that in the first place the *Eldership* is to provide one common Gage for the Stomachs of the whole Parish, for fear of a Mouthful too much. And in the second Place, it is made a matter of Salvation, or Damnation, whether a Man Eats Beef, or Venison.

Apparel

And so, for *Excess in Apparel*. One inch more, then to Cover your shame. is a *Superfluity*; and one Penny more, in the Pound, then the *Allowance* of the *Presbytery*, is made as much as a Man's Soul is worth.

Vain
Words,

It is the same thing for *Vain Words*. A Nurse shall not dare to still her Child but with a Psalm; and you must not presume so much as

to ask *What a Clock it is*, without a *Text*; to prove that the Question tends to *Edification*.

But the hardest Case of all is, That of *Suspicion*. The very *Suspicion* of *Avarice*; or *Pride*, You say, makes a Man liable to Censure. Suspicion of pride. This, methinks, is very severe, for a Man to be delivered over to *Sathan*, because the *Brotherhood* *Suspects* him to be *Proud*, or *Covetous*; whether he be so, or no.

Pres. 'Tis to be presumed, that the Church will proceed according to a Judgment of Charity, and Discretion.

Indep. Did not the Kirk Excommunicate the whole Multitude for a *Robin-Hood*? Nay at *St. Johnstons*, they curst not only the *Men*, that should take part with the King, but the very *Horses*, and *Spears*. (Here's an Excommunication by way of *Advance*) Upon the Action of *Duke Hamilton* in 1648. the whole Party were Excommunicate (even after the Defeat: (as appears by the *Scotch Act* for *Renewing the Covenant*.)

In some Cases again, they are as *Tender* and *Cautelous*. *Andrew Hunter* (a Prime stickler for the Discipline) attended *Bothwell* as his Spotsw. Chaplain, in a Rebellion, 1593. But King *James* could not prevail Hist. p. 395 with the Assembly to Excommunicate Him for it; (though no doubt was made of the Fact) Nay, on the Contrary, They would not be Ibid. 460 quiet, till they had got *Bothwell's* Pardon. And upon *Gowry's* attempt (in the Year 1600.) His Majesty required the Ministers of *Edinburgh* to give God thanks in their Churches for his Deliverance, and they refused it.

Put to the Point we were upon, as nothing can be more Contrary to the temper and dictate of the Holy Gospel then the claim of this *Arbitrary* and *Censorious Jurisdiction*: it seems to me to stand in an equal Degree of Opposition to the Rules of *Society*, *Humanity*, and *Reason*.

The King is upon his good Behaviour to the *Elders*, and *Deacons* (who are Judges of others manners) as well as the meanest man in the Book of Discipline. p. 61. Parish. He is indeed; (as is observ'd by the Author of *Presbytery* p. 3. Display'd) the Chief Member of the General Assembly; but they allow him no Negative Voice; and if he has the Fortune to be *Out-Voted*, he must cause the Sentence to be Executed, whatever it be, under Pain of *Censure*, and Consequently of *Deprivation*. Of Acts of Parliament, and Inferior Magistrates, enough is spoken already.

As to the State of the Nobility, and Gentry, they are either Conformists to the Government, or Dissenters; and must take their Lot in it, to be either Sovereigns, or Slaves: (for that's the distribution of it.) Upon the Main These *Domini Dominantium* Challenge by their

Cem-

Commission to be no Respector of Persons ; and so lay upon all Sorts, and Conditions of Men in General at their good Pleasure certain Common Impositions, Importing their Servility, and Subjection, and whose Livery they wear.

Ibid. p. 57.
2d book
of Discip
p. 97.

1st book
of Disc.
p. 29

I must not omit one Peculiar Obligation, the Nobility, and Gentry have to these their gracious Masters : which is, easing them of their Patronages, & Presentations to Benefices, because these things flowed from the Pope, and the corruption of the Law only, and are contrary to the Word of God, and the Peoples Liberty of Electing their own Ministers. [For (say they) this is altogether to be avoided, that any man be violently Intruded, or Thrust in upon any Congregation. But this Liberty, with all care, must be reserved to every several Church, to have their Votes, and Suffrages in Election of their Ministers.

Ib. p. 29

Observe now I beseech you, the Peoples Liberty, in this Choice. Violent Intrusion we call it not, when the Counsel of the Church, in the fear of God, and for the salvation of the People, offereth unto them a sufficient Man, to instruct them. If his Doctrine be sound whole some, and able to instruct the Simple, and if the Church justly can reprehend nothing in his Life, Doctrine, nor Utterance, then we judge the Church unreasonable, if they refuse him, whom the Church did offer ; and they should be compelled by the censure of the Counsel, and Church, to receive the Person appointed. Here's Liberty upon Compulsion ; and it is most Palpable, that your whole Design is the Interest of a Party.

Spotsw.
hist. p. 393

Come now to the men of Ordinary Business, and Traffick, The Presbytery will put an end to all their Disputes, about Free Trade, Priviledges, and matter of Commerce, with a wet Finger. Did they not by an Act of Assembly at Dundy 1592. Prohibit the Scots Trading with any of the King of Spains Dominions, under Pain of Excommunication ; and his Majesty refusing to comply with them, (at the Instance of the Spanish Merchants) Did they not proceed to Censure the Merchants ? So that there shall be no Trading, but where they please : And no Markets neither but upon their good liking too. Did they not by their Proper Authority Discharge the Munday Market in Ederburgh ? But the Shoo-makers indeed were too hard for the Elders this bout, and told them plainly, they would turn out all their Ministers by Head and Shoulders first before they parted with their Market. Upon which Menace they were quiet.

Ibid. 394

p. 10.

The Author of Presbytery Display'd, gives you some Instances of the Presbyteries Interposel, in Actions of Debt, and menacing Lords, and Creditors, with Excommunication, unless they laid down the Process : Upon Pretense Forsooth, that though it was in a Civil Cause,

Cause, it had yet a *Spiritual Prospect*: *Withdrew People from their Callings, and hindred the Progress of the Gospel.*

And this is no more, then any man will reasonably expect, that looks but with half an eye upon the very *Frame*, and *Provision* of the *Discipline*. Is not he a mad man, that thinks to recover a Debt at *Common Law*, against any Member, or Members Friend of the *Presbytery*, when 'tis but flying to the Cannon of the *Consistory*, to silence the dispute, and telling him, that *He is Contentious without a reasonable Cause*? Cannot the *Church* put an end to strife among Brethren, as well as the *Civil Magistrates*? It is a matter of evil example, and ends to the *Hurt of our Neighbour*. If the *Creditor* be obstinate, and will not take good Counsel, out flies an *Excommunication* against him, for refusing to obey the *Orders of the Church*.

I would now fain understand, what it is that sets so many of the Ministers a Gog upon this Platform; for certainly, they are of all Mortals the most contemptible: (the *Junto*, and some few of the *Select ones Excepted*.)

Their *Discipline* divides the *Patrimony* into four parts, One for the *Pastor*; Another for the *Elders, Deacons*, and other *Kirk-Officers*; their *Doctor*, and *Schools*, A Third for *Charitable Uses*: and the Rest for *Repairing of Churches*, and other incidental charges. So that the *Clergy* is strip'd already of 3. Parts of 4 of their *Legal Maintenance*. Book of Discipline, p. 61. p. 98.

A Jurisdiction exercised according to the Latitude of this Discipline, one would think, might satisfy any reasonable sort of People. But alas! If they do not as much exceed their own *Bounds*, in their *Practises*, as they exceed all other *Models* in their *Pretensions*, they reckon it as good as nothing. They can *Cite People* out of a *Remote Jurisdiction*. *Deprive whole Presbyterys for Dissent*. (Kings Declaration, page 314.) Call *Nine Presbyters* of *Fifty*, a *General Assembly*. (Spotwood, p. 490.) *Demolish Churches* (304.) and *Dispose of the Patrimony* (311.) and what not?

More cannot be said, as to the Empire they exercise o're *King, Lords*, and *Commons*, severally, and in divers respects: we come now to their *Usurpations* upon the common *Rights*, and *Privileges* of *Mankind*.

Chiding (as I told you) they have drawn within the compass of *Ecclesiastical Censure*. So that *Masters* shall not *Reprove* their *Servants*, nor *Parents* their *Children*; without leave of the *Eldership*, (to the utter dissolution of the *Order* and *Discipline* of *Private Families*.) Nay, they have taken in *Brawling* too, and made every *Billingsgate Quarrel*, ever *Brabble* betwixt a *Butter-Whore* and an *Oysterwench*, a Subject of *Consistorial Cognizance*.

Under the Censure of *Lowd Customs* are comprized all sorts of *Publique Sports, Exercises, and Recreations*, that have been long in Use; upon the worshipful pretense (forsooth) that they had their original from the times of *Paganism*, or *Popery*: As *Comedies, Interludes, Wrestling, Foot-Ball-Play, May-Games, Whitsun-ales, Morrice-Dances, Bear-baitings*; Nay the poor *Rosemary, and Bays, and Christmas-Pye*, is made an *Abomination*.

Presb. And are not the Independents as much against these Fooleries as the Presbyterians?

Indep. No, we take our own freedom, to forbear what we dislike our selves; and allow other People their liberty, to practise what pleases them. But to proceed.

All Games that brings Loss, are prohibited, *Tennis, Bowles, Billiards*; Not so much as a game at *Stool-Ball* for a *Tansy*, or a *Cross and Pyle* for the odd Penny of a Reckoning, upon Pain of *Damnation*.

——— Shortly, Boys shall not Play

At *Span-Counter*, or *Blow-Point*, but shall Pay

Toll to some Presbyter ———

What do you think now of *Uncomly Gestures*? That a man shall be given to the Devil, for Lolling upon his Elbow, or setting on his Back-side, in the Presence of the Deacon of the Parish.

And the like for *Excess in Eating, or Apparel*. Every bit we put into our mouths, and every rag we put upon our Backs, becomes a snare to us. It may be either too much, or too costly: and what reformation soever the Kirk shall think fit to order, either in our *Clothes, or Dyet*, must be observ'd, with the same degree of *Submission, and Obedience*, as if the matter in Question were an *Article of our Creed*.

Their Censure of *Vain Words* is yet more rigorous, and reaches for ought we know, to the honestest Endearments, and Familiarities of Friendship, and conversation, even to the exclusion of common decency, and Civility. But let our words be what they will, we are still dependent upon the good pleasure of the *Eldership*, whether they will pronounce them *Vain, or Edifying*.

But why should a man expect to scape for Words, where *Thought* it self is Censurable? *Suspicion of Avarice, Pride, &c.* (as you have heard) He that sues to recover a debt, shall be suspected of *Avarice*. He that refuses to crouch like the Ass under the Burthen, shall be suspected of *Pride*. And for a Man and a Woman to be only seen together, shall be ground enough for a suspicion of *Incontinency*. Nay, they shall be Cited, Interrogated, Close Committed, and Put to Bread and Water upon it; and compell'd to Swear in *Propriam Turpitudinem*. After all this, and that

that no Proof appears, and that they purge themselves upon Oath: It shall be yet Enacted by the Assembly, that if ever these two shall be Presby: seen again in Company together, unless at Church, or Market, they shall be display
taken pro Confessio for Guilty. p. 9.

A whole Volume (says the Authour of Presbytery Display'd) might be written of Young Women by these Courses, disgraced, and Defamed: Of many Families divided and scatter'd; whereas before there was never any jealousy betwixt the man and the wife.

Presb. These are Objections rather of Passion and Extravagance, then of Argument.

Indep. They are no other then such Conclusions as the Premisses will very well bear.

Presb. I have heard indeed of several wilde and senseless Scruples charg'd upon the Independents: as that they made it a matter of Religion to piss abed, and ride Hobby-horses, because it is said, Except ye become as little Children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, Matth. 18. 3.

Indep. Pray give me leave to requite you with three or four Presbyterian Scruples, out of Bancrofts Survey of the Pretended Holy Dis. p. 368.

Move M. Cartwright, and some other our Reverend Brethren to deliver their Judgments, whether all laying out of hair be forbidden to all Women, especially at their repair to the publick meetings of the Church? 1586

A Question riseth in my minde, whether one that Professeth Christ truly, Ed. Brown may, according to the same Profession, delight in, and use Hawking, and Field, Hunting; so no Unchristian behaviour otherwise be joyned therewith.

Let me know your Judgment particularly, whether it be in any respect to- Walker to- lerable for Women that profess Religion, and the Reformation, to wear Dub- Field. lets, Little Hats with Feathers, great gowns after the French & Outlandish Fashion; great Ruffs and Hair, either curled, or frilled, or set out upon Wires, and such like Devices.

I cannot pass from these Phantastical Absurdities in your Practises, without some Reflection upon those in your Constitution. To say nothing of your Disagreements among your selves, about your Officers, and Discipline. What can be more ridiculous than to Authorize a Cocker to Correct Majesty, Mechanicks to Determine in Points of Faith? Book of Are not your Elders joyn'd in Commission with your Ministers, for the Ex- Discipl. amination of the Person that offers himself to the Ministry, in all the Chief P. 28. Points in Controversie betwixt us and the Papists, Anabaptists, Arians, &c. Are not the Elders, and Deacons fit Persons (think ye) to be made Ibid. 60 Judges of Theological Niceties; and to Admonish, and Reprove a Minister, that Propounds not faithful Doctrine? Has not your General Assembly,

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bly, rather the *Face* of a *Council of State*, then of a *Council of the Church* (And in truth the *Business* too.) Behold the Composition (I beseech ye) of the Pretended *Assembly* at *Glasgow*, 1638. *Seven Earls, Ten Lords, Forty Gentlemen, and One and Fifty Burgeses* to Determine *Faith and Church Censures*.

Now to take a Brief View of the whole. What greater *Slavery* in the world, can be imagined, then to live in Subjection to a Government; where you shall have; neither *Freedom of Conscience, Law, Person, or Fortune*? Where you shall not *Speak, Look, Move, Eat, Drink, Dress* your self; Nay, not so much as entertain a *Thought*, but at your *Peril*? And to be in this Bondage too unto the *Meanest*, and most *Insolent* of your *Fellows*? For none but such will ever engage themselves in the Exercise of so *Inhumane a Tyranny*. And for a further Aggravation of the *Shame, and Guilt* of the Faction, let me desire you but to cast an eye upon their Proceedings, under *King James* in *Scotland*, and here under *Queen Elizabeth*; where you shall find that they were never so *Impetuous, and Bold*, as when they found the *King* and the *State* in distress, upon the Apprehension of *Foreign Dangers*. And so for the *Queen*, upon the business of *Eighty Eight*: Whereas the *Independents* never so confined themselves to the Prosecution of the *Private Interests*, as to Hazzard the betraying of their *Country* to *Foreigners*: And particularly, in the late Engagements at Sea, against the *French, and Dutch*, many of them have given *Signal Testimony* and Proof of their *Fidelity, and Valour*.

I should not have Engrofs'd this whole Discourse to my self, but in Persuance of a Point, wherein you have confest beforehand, that you had nothing further to oppose: that is to say, concerning the *Principles* of the Parties in Question.

Neither is any thing I have hitherto deliver'd, to be taken as a *Challenge, and Claim* of a *Toleration*, of such a Quality, as to enter into a *Competition* with the *Peace and Security, of the Publique*: But This I promise my self, that if it shall appear reasonable to *Authority*, to allow of any *Relaxation*, the *Independents Plea*, upon all consideration of common *Equity, and Safety*, will stand good against That of the *Presbyterians*.

From whose *Tripple-Crown'd Consistory*; that *Lords* it over *Souls, Bodies, and Estates*; over *King, Nobles, and Commons*; over *Laws, Magistrates, and all Sorts, and Ranks of Men, and Interests*; that turns *Gods* into *Law*; *Communities* into *Deserts*; *Men* into *Beasts*;

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

THE END.